THE HISTORY OF THE Apoſtles Creed:

With CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS On its ſeveral ARTICLES.

The FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed by *W. B.* for JOHN WYAT at the *Roſe*, and R. ROBINSON at the *Golden Lion* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. MDCCXIX.


BRITISH MUSEUM

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

IT is well known, that ſeveral Learned Comments, and other Tracts, have been already writ on the Creed, commonly called the Apoſtles: The Names of the Great Men, who have exerciſed their Wits and Pens on this Subject, are ſo obvious, that the men-

tioning of them will be needleſs; ſo that at firſt View, the following Eſſay will run the risk of being cenſured for ſuperfluous and unneceſſary: But whoever will conſider what hath been written of this kind, will find, that moſt part of the Writers who have gone before, have only handled the Creed in a Theological manner, explaining and confirming its ſeveral Articles according to the various Senſes and Interpretations deducible from Holy Writ; which is in no ſort the Deſign of the Author in the enſuing Treatiſe. The Reader is not to expect here a perfect and complete Explication of the Creed, or of its ſeveral Articles in their Latitude and Extent, according as they may be inferred, or proved from the Holy Scriptures; this hath been already done with great Judgment and Copiouſneſs by others, to whoſe Endeavours

deavours the Author doth not pretend to add any thing: But the Author's only intent in the following Treatiſe, is to make an Eſſay towards an Hiſtorical and Critical account of the Creed, to find out, if poſſible, the Authors and Framers of the Creed, the Time when the ſeveral Articles were introduced, the Occaſion and Intent of their firſt introducing, and what the Senſe, Meaning and Deſign of the firſt Introducers was; intermixing here and there ſome Critical Obſervations, which may be both uſeful and delightful to the Reader.

To this End, the Author hath not contented himſelf with reading of Modern Books or Collections made by later Writers, but hath himſelf had immediate recourſe to the remaining Monuments of the Primitive Ages of

the Church, from whence only all Learning of this Kind can be fetched and derived.

Whether the Author hath ſucceeded in this Attempt, muſt be left to others to judge; he can only ſay in his own Excuſe, that he hath done his beſt; and that it will be very acceptable to him to ſee it better done by others of more Leiſure, and greater Abilities and Learning, eſpecially if any thing hit upon by him, may be of uſe to advance and improve this Deſign.

If the Author hath not explained every thing alledged by him to that Degree of Clearneſs and Certainty, as may be expected by an inquiſitive Reader, or hath in any Point been miſtaken, it is excuſable in him, not only on the account of the general

neral Uncertainty of ancient and diſtant Matters, but alſo on the account of the affected and ſtudied Obſcurity of the primitive Writers in relation to this Particular; ſo that it is not the Author's Fault, if at any time his Proofs are not ſo copious or direct as might be wiſhed for and deſired: If he had found any thing in the Primitive Writers to have made any ſuch Point clearer and ſtronger, he would not have omitted it.

If the Explication given by the Author, of any Article or part of the Creed, ſhould happen to be diſliked or not approved by any one, the Reader muſt remember, that the Author only acts the part of an Hiſtorian; his Deſign being only to collect and diſcover the Senſe and Meaning of the firſt Makers and Compoſers of the Creed, what it was that the In-

troducers of the ſeveral Articles purpoſed and intended thereby; and, if in any place he ſeems to ſpeak his own Senſe, that is only for the better carrying on the Thread of his Diſcourſe, and in the Quality and Perſon of an Hiſtorian, as having collected the Senſe or Explication in ſuch place mentioned, to be the intended meaning of the Framers of that Part or Clauſe of the Creed; the only intent of the Author being to ſhew the Senſe and intended Meaning of the Compoſers of the Creed, and not at all to enter into an Examination of the Juſtneſs or Truth of ſuch Senſe and Meaning; the Author leaving that to every Man's private Judgment, to be try'd and determined by the Holy Scriptures, the only perfect and infallible Rule of Faith; by which even this Creed its ſelf, and every Explication thereof, muſt be try'd

try'd and judged, and is no farther to be received or believed, than as it is conſonant and agreeable thereunto; which is according to the *Sixth Article* of the *Church of* England, That *whatſoever is not read in the Holy Scripture, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any Man, that it ſhould be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be thought requiſite or neceſſary to Salvation.*



AN

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

EDITIONS

OF THE

WORKS

Of the ANCIENT

Chriſtian Authors,

Cited and made uſe of in the following

TREATISE.

S. Barnabæ Epiſt. Catholic. Græco-Latin. Edit. Octav. Oxonii 1685.

S. Clementis Romani Epiſtolæ Græco-Latin. Quarto. Oxonii 1633.

S. Ignatii

S. Ignatii Epiſtolæ Græco-Latin. Quarto. Edit. Iſaaci Voſſii Amſtelodam. 1646.

S. Juſtini Martyris Opera Græco-Latin. Folio. Coloniæ 1686.

Athenagoræ Opera Græco-Lat. Edit. ad calcem Juſtin. Martyr. Folio. Coloniæ 1686.

Theophili Antiocheni Opera Græco-Lat. Edit. ad calcem Juſtin. Martyr. Fol. Coloniæ 1686.

Irenæi Opera, Folio. Genevæ 1580.

Tertulliani Opera, Folio. Pariſ. 1580.

Clementis Alexandrini Opera, Græco-Lat. Folio. Lugduni Batav. 1616.

Minucii Felicis Opera, Octavo. Lugd. Batav. 1672.

Origenis Commentar. Græco-Lat. 2 Vol. Folio. Edit. Huetii Rothomag. 1668.

Origen contra Celſum Græco-Lat. Quarto. Cantabrig. 1677.

Origenis Dialogi contra Marcionitas, &c. Græco-Lat. Quarto. Baſil. 1674.

Origen περὶ εὐχῆς *ſeu de Oratione, Græco-Lat. Octav. Oxon.* 1685.

Cypriani Opera, Folio, Edit. Sim. Goulart. apud Johan. le Preux. 1593.

Novatiani Opera inter Opera Tertullian. Edit. Pariſ. Folio. 1580.

Archelai

Archelai Disputatio adverſ. Manichæum, Latin. Edit. ad Calcem Socratis & Sozomen. Hiſtor. Eccleſiaſt. Edit. Fol. Mogunt. 1677.

Arnobii Opera, Quarto. Ludg. Bat. 1651.

Lactantii Opera, Octavo. Lugd. Batav. 1660.

Euſebii Pamphili Eccleſiaſtic. Hiſtoria Græco-Latin. Folio, Edit. Henric. Valeſ. Pariſ. 1659.

Athanaſii Opera, Græco-Lat. 2 Vol. Fol. Coloniæ 1686.

Julii Firmici Materni Opera, Edit. ad calcem Minucii Felicis, Octavo. Lugdun. Batav. 1672.

Hilarii Pictavienſis Opera, Folio. Baſil. 1550.

Ambroſii Opera, 5 Tom. Folio. Baſil. 1567.

Cyrilli Hieroſolomytani Opera, Græco-Lat. Folio. Pariſ. 1631.

Epiphanii Opera Græcè, Folio. Baſil. 1544.

Hieronymi Opera, 9 Tom. Fol. Antuerp. 1578.

Ruffini Expoſitio in Symbolum Apoſtolor. Edit. inter Opera Cypriani per Sim. Goulart. apud Johan. le Preux, Folio. 1593.

Auguſtini

Auguſtini Opera, 10 *Tom. Octavo. Lugduni.* 1563.

Auguſtini de Hæreſibus, Edit. cum Notis Danæi, Octavo. Genevæ, 1595.

Iſidori Peleuſiotæ Opera, Græco-Lat. Folio, Edit. à Conrad. Ritterhuſio. 1605.

Maximi Taurinenſis Opera, Folio. Lugdun. 1633.

Johannis Caſſiani Opera, Edit. unà cum Damaſcen. Folio. Baſil. 1575.

Vincentii Lirinenſis Commonitor. 12°. *Cantabrig.* 1687.

Theodoret. Dialog. & Hæreſ. Epitom. Græcè, Quarto. Romæ 1547.

Petri Chryſologi Opera, Folio. Lugd. 1633.

Leonis Magni Opera, Folio. Lugdun. 1633.

Fulgentii Opera, Folio. Lugd. 1633.

Salviani Opera, 12°. *Oxon.* 1629.

Gennadii Maſſilienſis Liber, Edit. inter Opera Auguſtini, Octavo. Lugd. 1563.

Andreæ Cæſarienſis Comment. in Apocal. ad calcem Secundi Tomi Com. Johan. Chryſoſtom. in Nov. Teſtam. Edit. à Frontone Ducæo, Paris, Folio. 1636.

Theodor.

Theodor. Lector. Fragment. ad calcem Evagrii Eccleſ. Hiſtor. Græco-Lat. Folio. Mogunt. 1679.

Damaſceni Opera, Græco-Lat. Folio. Baſil. 1575.



THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Apoſtles Creed: WITH CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS On its ſeveral ARTICLES.

CHAP. I.

The Introduction; containing ſeveral things relating to the Creed in general: The Encomiums given thereto by the Primitive Writers: The ſeveral Names by which it hath been called: Principally termed a Symbol: Two Reaſons commonly alledged for that Appellation; the one taken from the manner of common Suppers amongſt the Ancients, which is ſhewn

to be weak and uncertain; the other taken from Military Affairs, where it denotes the Watch-words and Signs by which Soldiers knew each other; which is affirmed not to be the full and proper signification of the Word, but that it is rather to be derived from the Marks and Tokens used by the Idolatrous Pagans in their sacred Rites, called by them Symbola, *which were twofold, either Mute or Vocal: Instances of both: Proved to have been secret Marks or Words, revealed only to those who were initiated in their Mysteries, by means of which they were known to each other, and had free admission wheresoever they came, to the Services of those Deities whose Symbols they had received; and that from the same reasons, and in allusion thereunto, the Creed was called a Symbol by the Primitive Authors. A Transition from the Titles, to the Authors of the Creed: Some ascribe it to the Apostles; which by several reasons is demonstrated to be impossible: That nevertheless it is Apostolical and Ancient: Exceeding difficult to find out the precise Framers of it: The Authors thereof were many; and the Composure it self a work of time:*

One part of the Creed was uſed by the Apoſtles, and left by them to their Succeſſors: The Creed was always demanded at Baptiſm both by the Apoſtles and by thoſe who came after them: The other part of the Creed was afterwards added by the Rulers of the Church, in oppoſition to Hereſies, as they appeared and ſprang up: In what ſenſe the Apoſtles are ſaid to be the Authors of one part, and the ſucceeding Governours of the Church Authors of the other: The Meaning of the Creed to be fetched from the Writings of the Fathers: The Creed firſt conſtantly read in the Eaſtern Church about five hundred Years after Chriſt; and in the Weſtern near ſix hundred: The Creed then read was the Nicene; into whoſe room afterwards came the Apoſtles; which is repeated.

THE great Reſpect and Veneration that hath in all Ages been paid to the Apoſtles Creed, as it is uſually call'd, may in ſome meaſure apologize for the writing this Eſſay, or any other Diſcourſe about it. It would be not only tedious, but alſo infinite, to tranſcribe the Encomiums that every where abound in

the ancient Writings of this ſhort Synopſis and Compendium of the Chriſtian Faith. Saint *Auguſtin* calls it, [a] *the Illumination of the Soul, the Perfection of Believers, by which the Bond of Infidelity is diſſolved, the Gate of Life is opened, and the Glory of Faith is ſhewn; little indeed in Words, but great in Myſteries; ſhort ſo as not to oppreſs the Memory, yet comprehenſive ſo as to exceed the Underſtanding: Worthily therefore is this Creed to be attended unto, ſince whatſoever is prefigured in the Patriarchs, declared in the Scriptures, or foretold in the Prophets, concerning the bleſſed Trinity, and the Myſtery of our Saviour's Incarnation, Death and Crucifixion, is contained in it.* Not much unlike to which *J. Caſſian* writes, [b] *that the Creed comprehends in it ſelf in few words the Faith of both Teſtaments, and the Senſe of the whole Scripture.* And *Petrus Chryſo-*

[a] Doctrina Symboli eſt illuminatio animæ, plenitudo credentium—hoc nexus infidelitatis abſolvitur, hoc vitæ janua panditur, hoc gloria confeſſionis oſtenditur: Symbolum breve eſt verbis, ſed magnum eſt Sacramentis—exiguum eſt ut memoriam non obruat, ſed diffuſum ut intelligentiam ſuperſedeat.—Dignè ergo attentiores—ad audiendum Symbolum conveniſtis: Quicquid enim præfiguratum eſt in Patriarchis, quicquid nuntiatum eſt in Scripturis, quicquid prædictum eſt in Prophetis, vel de Deo ingenito, vel ex Deo Dei unigenito, vel de Spiritu Sancto,—vel de ſuſcipiendi hominis Sacramento--totum hoc breviter--Symbolum in ſe continet confitendo. *Tom.* 10. *Serm. de Temp. Serm.* 131. *p.* 406.

[b] Quicquid per univerſorum divinorum voluminum corpus immenſa funditur copia, totum in Symboli colligitur brevitate, &c. *De Incarn. Dom. lib.* 5. *p.* 1272.

Chryſologus, That [a] *it is the Entrance into Life, the Gate of Salvation, a peculiar, innocent, and pure Confeſſion,* [b] *the Covenant of Life, the Plea of Salvation, and the indiſſolvable Sacrament of Faith between God and us.* [c] *This*, ſaith Maximus Taurinenſis, *is the Symbol, by the Sign of which the Faithful are ſeparated from the Unbelieving, whoſe Truth makes every Believer of it a Chriſtian, ſanctifies the Living, and reduceth the Dead to Life*; and many other ſuch like noble and majeſtick Expreſſions, were made uſe of by the Primitive Writers and Panegyriſts, to declare their Eſteem of this Creed, which through the Divine Aſſiſtance I ſhall endeavour a little to explain.

Where, in the firſt place: Since the Nature of Things is frequently ſignified unto us by the Names thereof, it may not be altogether unneceſſary to take notice of the ſeveral Titles and Appellations, which have been formerly given to this Creed; by *Ruffinus* it is

[a] Ingreſſus vitæ, janua ſalutis, ſingularis, innocens, & pura Confeſſio. *In Symb. Apoſt. Serm.* 56. *p.* 51.

[b] Pactum vitæ, ſalutis placitum, & inter vos & Deum fidei inſolubile Sacramentum. *In Symb. Apoſt. Serm.* 58. *p.* 52.

[c] Hoc eſt Symbolum cujus ſignaculo fideles ab infidelibus ſecernuntur—cujus veritas unumquemque credentem efficit Chriſtianum —quod & viventes ſanctificat, & mortuos reducit ad vitam. *Homil. in Symbol. p.* 240.

called, [a] *The Rule of Preaching*; by *Salvian*, [b] *The Gift of Salvation*; by *Cassian*, [c] *The Faith of the Catholick Sacrament*; by *Ambrose*, [d] *The Seal of our Heart, and a Military Sacrament*; by [e] *Irenæus*, [f] *Tertullian*, [g] *Novatian* and [h] *Jerom*, *The Rule of Faith and Truth*.

But that Name which hath generally prevailed, and by which it is usually known, is *Symbolum*, or *Symbol*; for which Title there are two Reasons commonly given: The one is, that it is an Allusion to the Custom of several Persons meeting together to eat of one common Supper; whither every one brings something for his Share to make up that common Meal, which from hence was called *Symbolum*, from the *Greek* Verb Συμβάλλειν, which signifies, to throw, or cast together: Even so, say some, the Apostles met together, and each one put or threw in his Article to compose this Symbol; which explication of the Word is, I think, first mentioned by *Ruffinus*, who after he has related the manner of the framing of

[a] Normam prædicationis. *Expos. in Symb. Apost.* §. 2. p. 565.
[b] Munus Salutis. *De gubern. Dei, lib.* 6. *p.* 199.
[c] Catholici Sacramenti fides. *De Incarn. Domin. lib.* 6. *p.* 1276.
[d] Nostri Signaculum cordis—Militiæ Sacramentum. *Tom.* 1. *de Virgin. lib.* 3. *p.* 86.
[e] Regulam Veritatis. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 19. *p.* 74.
[f] Regula fidei. *De Virginib. Veland. p.* 385.
[g] *De Trinitat. p.* 493.
[h] *Tom.* 2. *ad* Marcell. *Ep.* 54. *p.* 193.

of the Creed by the Apoſtles, adds, That [a] *for many and juſt Cauſes they would have it to be called a Symbol; for a Symbol in* Greek *ſignifies a Collation, that is, that which many bring into one; for ſo the Apoſtles in this Creed did bring into one, or comprehend in one thing what every Perſon thought.* And after him, by [b] *Caſſian*, and *ſeveral Others*, who affirm the ſame thing, That the *Creed was called a Symbol, becauſe that whatſoever is in an immenſe Copiouſneſs contained in the Body of the Divine Volumes, is by the Apoſtles collated, or reduced into this brief Compendium.* But what is in general ſpoken by *Ruffinus*, *Caſſian*, and others, concerning the mutual framing of the Creed by the Apoſtles, is more particularly related by one who paſſes under the Name of St. *Auſtin*, and probably lived not long after him, who beſides what was affirmed by the foregoing Authors, ſhews alſo the particular Articles, that were thrown or put into this

[a] Symbolum autem hoc multis & juſtiſſimis ex cauſis appellare voluerunt. Symbolum enim Græcè —dici poteſt & collatio, hoc eſt, quod plures in unum conferunt, id enim fecerunt Apoſtoli in his Sermonibus in unum conferendo quod unuſquiſque ſenſit. *Expoſ. in Symb. Apoſt.* §. 2. *p.* 565.

[b] Symbolum ex collatione nomen accepit.——Collatio autem ideo, quia in unum ab Apoſtolis domini. — Quicquid per univerſorum divinorum voluminum corpus immenſa funditur Copia, totum in Symboli colligitur brevitate. *De Incarn. Dom. lib.* 5. *p.* 1272.

common Confeſſion by each individual Apoſtle, which I ſhall not here enumerate, ſince I ſhall have occaſion to mention them elſewhere in this Chapter.

But now as to the truth of this ſenſe of the *Word*; in my opinion it is very much to be queſtioned: to evidence the Weakneſs whereof, I ſhall not inſiſt on that Criticiſm, that it is not *Symbolum*, but *Symbola*, which hath the forementioned Signification; but leaving that Nicety to the *Grammarians*, I ſhall only obſerve, that this Interpretation of the Word hath its entire Foundation on that Opinion, that the Apoſtles were the real Authors of the Creed, and that they aſſembled together by their mutual conſent to compoſe and frame it: Now that the Apoſtles did not ſo, neither could the Creed in any manner or way be formed by them, I ſhall in the enſuing part of this Chapter demonſtrate, craving the Reader's leave to take it for granted till I come thither, and his permiſſion to diſmiſs this Expoſition of the *Word* upon that account, as groundleſs and unſatisfactory.

The ſecond Signification of this word *Symbolum*, is fetched from Military Affairs, where it is uſed to denote thoſe Marks, Signs, Watch-words, and the like,

like, whereby the Soldiers of an Army diſtinguiſhed and knew each other: In like manner, ſay ſome, by this Creed the true Soldiers of *Jeſus Chriſt* were differenced from all others, and diſcerned from them, who were only falſe and hyocritical Pretenders; unto which Opinion *Maximus Taurinenſis* ſeems to incline, who terms [a] *the Symbol, the Sign by which Believers are ſeparated from Unbelievers:* and *Ruffinus* more largely writes, [b] *That the* Greek *word* Σύμβολον *may be rendred in* Latin *by* Indicium; *which Word ſignifies a Sign, or a mark of Diſtinction, and was applied to the Creed, becauſe at that time, as it is related by St.* Paul *in the* Acts *of the* Apoſtles, *many of the circumciſed Jews feigned themſelves to be the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and*

[a] Symbolum cujus Signaculo fideles ab infidelibus ſecernuntur. *Homil. in Symb. p.* 240.

[b] Symbolum Græcè indicium dici poteſt, — indicium autem vel ſignum iccirco dicitur: quia illo tempore ſicut & Paulus Apoſtolus dicit, & in Actis Apoſtolorum refertur, multi ex circumciſis Judæis ſimulabant ſe eſſe Apoſtolos Chriſti, & lucri alicujus vel ventris gratia ad prædicandum proficiſcebantur, nominantes quidem Chriſtum ſed non integris traditionum lineis nuntiantes. Iccircò ergo iſtud indicium poſuere, per quod agnoſceretur is, qui Chriſtum verè ſecundùm Apoſtolicas Regulas prædicaret: denique & in bellis civilibus hoc obſervari ferunt, quoniam & armorum habitus par, & ſonus vocis idem, & mos unus eſt, atque eadem inſtituta bellandi; ne qua doli ſubreptio fiat. Symbola diſcreta unuſquiſque dux ſuis militaribus tradit, quæ Latinè vel indicia nominantur, ut ſi fortè occurrerit quis de quo dubitetur, interrogatus Symbolum, prodat ſi ſit hoſtis an ſocius. *Expoſ. in Symb. Apoſt.* §. 2. *p.* 565.

for the ſake of their Purſe or Belly went forth to preach, naming indeed the Name of Chriſt, but not according to the perfect Lines of Tradition: to remedy which Miſchief, the Apoſtles appointed this Sign or Token, by which he might be known, who ſhould truly preach Chriſt according to the Apoſtolick Rules, as the cuſtom is reported to be in civil Wars, where their Arms, Language, Methods, and manner of fighting being the ſame, to prevent any Deceit, every General gives the Word to his Soldiers, which is called Symbolum, *that if one ſhould meet another concerning whom he doubts, by declaring the Word, or the Symbol, he might ſhew whether he was a Friend or a Foe.* So that the Creed in this reſpect was called *Symbolum*, in alluſion to a Military Cuſtom; that as Soldiers were known by Signs, Tokens, Words, and the like, ſo true and real Chriſtians were evidenced and diſtinguiſhed from all others by this Mark or Symbol of the Creed.

Now, though this may be in part the ſenſe of the Word, yet I do not apprehend, that it comes up to the full intent thereof; neither do I think, that it is to be derived from a Military Cuſtom, but rather from ſome thing, which

which in its own Nature is more correſpondent and agreeable to the Worſhip and Service of God, wherein the Creed is uſed: Wherefore, in my opinion, the ſignification of the Word is more naturally to be fetched from the *Sacra*, or religious Services of the Heathens, (if Idolatry, Impurity, and Inhumanity, may be permitted to paſs under that Name) where thoſe, who were initiated in their Myſteries, and admitted to the knowledge of their peculiar Services, which were hidden and concealed from the greateſt part of the idolatrous Multitude, had certain Signs or Marks, called *Symbola*, delivered unto them, by which they mutually knew each other, and upon the declaring of them, were without ſcruple admitted in any Temple to the ſecret Worſhip and Rites of that God, whoſe Symbols they had received.

Theſe Symbols were of two ſorts; either Mute, or Vocal: Of the Mute there are the Names of ſeveral in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, as an [a] *Origanum*, (a Muſical Inſtrument ſo called) *a Candle, a Sword, and* ſomething elſe, not fit to be tranſlated, *were the Symbols of* Themis; and the ſaid Father mentions in the ſame

[a] Τῆς Θέμιδος τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα Σύμβολα, ὀρίγανον, λύχνος, ξίφος——μόριον γυναικεῖον. *Protreptic. ad gentes*, p. 11.

same place, [a] *an handful of Salt, Ivy, Poppy, &c.* to have been the Symbols of *Bacchus*, and of others of their brutish Deities.

[a] Χόνδροί τε ἁλῶν — καὶ δρακὼν, ὄφιον Διονύσου βαστάζειν· ἔχει δ' οἶμαι — ἡ κιστοὶ — καὶ μήκωνες ταῦτ' ἔστιν αὐτῶν τὰ ἅγια; *Ibid.* p. 11.

These Symbols were carefully preserved, and kept from all publick View by the Receivers of them, who, upon the producing of them to the Priests of those Gods, whose Signs they were, had free admission to their most hidden and abominable Rites.

Apuleius, the famous *Platonick* Philosopher of *Madaura*, made use of these Mute Symbols, to defend himself from the Imputation of Magick; for being [b] *suspected of that infernal Practice, because he kept some unknown things wrapt up in a Napkin, or fine Linen Cloth*, he replies thereunto, [c] *That he had been initiated in most of the* Grecian *Mysteries, that he diligently preserved those Signs, and Monuments, which were delivered him by the Priests, that this was no unusual or unknown thing, that*

[b] Habuit Apuleius quæpiam linteolo involuta apud Lareis Pontiani: hæc quoniam ignoro, quæ fuerint, idcirco magica fuisse contendo. *Apolog.* p. 295. *Edit. Amsterdam*, 1628.

[c] Sacrorum pleraque initia in Græciâ participavi, eorum quædam Signa & Monumenta tradita mihi à Sacerdotibus sedulò conservo. Nihil insolitum, nihil incognitum dico, vel unius Liberi patris Symmistæ, qui adestis, scitis, quid domi conditum celetis, & absque omnibus profanis tacitè veneremini. *Ibid.* p. 297.

that ſome who were preſent, and had been initiated with him in the Rites of Bacchus, *did well know what they kept hidden at home, and did in ſecret, without the company of the Profane, particularly revere:* [a] *That it could not ſeem ſtrange to any, who had the leaſt ſenſe of Religion, that a Man who had been privy to ſo many Myſteries of the Gods, ſhould keep ſome Tokens thereof at home, and wrap them up in Linen, which is the pureſt Covering for Divine Things:* [b] *That yet, he did profeſs with a loud Voice, that if by chance any one was preſent, who had been partaker with him in the ſame Solemnities; if he would give the Sign, he ſhould hear what thoſe things were, which he ſo carefully preſerved, but that otherwiſe he would not be compelled by any Danger whatſoever, to divulge thoſe things to the Profane, which he receiv'd to keep ſecret and conceal.*

[a] Etiamne cuiquam mirum videri poteſt, cui ſit ulla memoria Religionis, hominem tot myſteriis deûm conſcium, quædam ſacrorum crepundia domi adſervare, atque ea lineo texto involvere, quod puriſſimum eſt rebus divinis velamentum. *Ibid.* p. 297.

[b] Cæteris autem clariſſimâ voce profiteor, ſiquis forte adeſt eorundem Solennium mihi particeps, ſignum dato, & audiat licet, quæ ego adſervem. Nam equidem nullo unquam periculo compellar, quæ reticenda accepi, hæc ad profanos enuntiare. *Ibid.* p. 298.

But,

But, beſides theſe Mute Symbols, there were others alſo which were Vocal, that is, a certain Form of obſcure and myſterious Words, for the moſt part, if not always, agreeable to the Worſhip, Actions, or Nature of that God, whoſe Signs they were; delivered by the Prieſts to thoſe who were initiated in their Myſteries, by which thoſe who were thus conſecrated, mutually knew each other, and were freely admitted to the moſt reſerved and ſecret Parts of their ſacred Rites and Ceremonies: Such a Vocal Symbol, *Apuleius* ſeems to hint at in the precedent Quotation, where he requires, That *if any were preſent, who had participated with him in the ſame Solemnities, they ſhould give the Sign*; that is, they ſhould pronounce and expreſs thoſe words, which were the Mark and Token of their Initiation and Conſecration. But, there is no need to look any farther into the Writings of the Heathens for the proof of this Point, ſeeing there is a full and large Evidence thereof in *Arnobius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, who have recorded ſeveral of their filthy, ſenſeleſs, and inhumane Symbols; as for example, *Arnobius* relates this to be the Symbol of *Ceres*,

[a] *and*

[a] *and to have been repeated at the Initiation in her Rites, I have faſted, and I have drunk a Caudle,* (as I chuſe to tranſlate the word *Cyceon*, which ſignifies a mixed and confuſed Potion of Liquors) *I have taken out of the Cheſt, and put into the Basket, I have taken it out again, and put it into the little Cheſt*; which is thus mentioned by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, with ſome ſmall variation, [a] *I have faſted, I have drunk a Caudle; having done that, I put it into the Basket, and from the Basket into the Cheſt.* To explain which Symbol at large, would perhaps be too tedious; I am almoſt confident, that it would be too obſcene and filthy, and that the cleaneſt words by which it can be expreſſed in our *Engliſh* Dialect, will ſound too harſh in chaſte and modeſt Ears: Wherefore I ſhall refer thoſe who would exactly know the Myſtery thereof, to the fifth Book of *Arnobius*, from Pag. 170 to Pag. 176, and to the tenth Page of *Clemens Alexandrinus*'s *Protrepticon ad Gentes*. I ſhall only ſay this in general,

[a] Ipſa denique Symbola, quæ rogata ſacrorum in acceptionibus reſpondetis. Jejunavi, atque obibi Cyceonem, ex ciſtâ ſumpſi, & in calathum miſi: accepi rurſus, in ciſtulam tranſtuli. *Lib.* 5. p. 175.

[b] Τὸ ζωύθεμα Ἐλευσινίων μυστηρίων· νήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸ κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης· ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς καλάθους, καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην. *Protreptic. ad gentes*, p. 10.

neral, as being pertinent to my preſent Undertaking, That theſe Symbolical Words had a dark and enigmatical Reference to the ſecret and hidden Rites of *Ceres*, and did in obſcure Expreſſions, ſhadow forth her impudent, beſtial, and abominable Actions, which in thoſe deteſtable Myſteries were ſolemnized and commemorated; and, that whoſoever declared or pronounced theſe Words, had an immediate admiſſion to thoſe ſecret and reſerved Villanies, as they juſtly deſerve to be termed.

There are yet ſeveral other Symbols mentioned both by *Arnobius*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*; which to prevent too great a length, I ſhall omit, and confine my ſelf to ſome mentioned by *Julius Firmicus Maternus*, who, in his moſt excellent Diſcourſe *concerning the Error of prophane Religions*, after he hath ſhewn the brutiſhneſs, ſtupidity, and folly of the Heathens, in worſhipping ſuch filthy, villanous, and barbarous Deities, and in rendring to them ſuch cruel, unclean, and abominable Services, as they did, proceeds to ſpeak particularly to the *Symbols*, or Marks uſed amongſt the more devout and zealous Adorers of thoſe black and murtherous Gods; the firſt whereof is

[a] *One*

[a] *One used in a certain Temple, that when a dying Man was desirous to be admitted into the innermost Parts thereof, he was to repeat this obscure and dark Sentence, I have eaten of a Taber, I have drunk of a Cymbal, I have learned the Secrets of Religion*; which Symbol is also mentioned by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and with a small Difference thus recorded by him, [b] *I have eaten of a Taber, I have drunk of a Cymbal, I have danced with a Cup in mine Hand, I have entred into the Marriage Bed.* Which said Father sufficiently intimates to us, that this Symbol was used in the famous Services of the *Phrygians* to *Cybele* the Mother of the Gods; the Words and Expressions whereof have a Relation to the Taber and Cymbal which she invented, to the mad and brutish way of her Worshippers adoring of her, and to those abominable and horrid Deeds, which in those diabolical Rites they celebrated and admired.

[a] In quodam Templo, ut in interiores partes homo moriturus possit admitti, dicit, de Tympano manducavi, de Cymbalo bibi, & religionis secreta perdidici; quod Græco Sermone dicitur, ὐκ τυμπάνυ βέβρωκα, ὐκ κυμβάλυ πέπωκα, γέγονα μύστης. *De Error. Prof. Relig.* p. 36.

[b] Ἐκ τυμπάνυ ἔφαγον, ὐκ κυμβάλυ ἔπιον, ὐκεγνοφόρησα, ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὐπέδυν. *Protrept. ad gent.* pag. 8.

[a] The Symbol uſed by the more devout and ſecret Votaries of *Mithras*, the great and renowned God of the *Perſians*, was Θεὸς ἐκ πέτρας, *God of a Rock*, which was taken from the manner of the Generation, or Production of the ſaid God, which as [b] *Juſtin Martyr*, and [c] *Jerom* do both aſſure us, the *Pagan* Mythologiſts fancied to have been *by the alone Heat of Luſt from a Stone or Rock.*

[a] Alterius profani Sacramenti ſignum eſt. Θεὸς ἐκ πέτρας. *Jul. Firmic. Matern. de Error. Prof. Relig. p.* 40.

[b] Οἱ τὰ Μίθρου μυστήρια παραδιδόντες, λέγουσιν ἐκ πέτρας γεγεννῆσθαι αὐτὸν. *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 296.

[c] Narrant gentilium fabulæ Mithram vel in lapide vel in terra de ſolo æſtu libidinis eſſe generatum. *Tom.* 2. *adverſ. Jovinian. lib.* 1. p. 142.

The Symbol employed in the *Orgia*, or Revels of *Bacchus*, was [d] ἑλιλίκερες, διμορφεῖ, or rather, ἑλιξόκερως, δίμορφε, *having crooked Horns, double-faced*; becauſe, under ſuch Repreſentations, that drunken God was worſhipped and adored.

[d] *Julius Firmic. Matern. de Error Prof. Relig.* p. 43.

Laſtly, That I may not mention any more, the ſaid *Julius Firmicus Maternus* acquaints us with this following *Symbol* of ſome Idolaters, [e] *That on a certain Night they placed an Image upright in a Bed, and then wept round about it; which when they had ſufficiently*

[e] Nocte quâdam Simulacrum in lectica ſupinum ponitur, & per numeros digeſtis fletibus plangitur: deinde cùm ſe fictâ lamentatione ſatiaverint, lumen infertur: tunc à ſacerdote omnium, qui flebant, fauces unguntur, quibus perunctis ſacerdos hoc lento murmure ſuſurrat: Θαῤῥεῖτε, &c. *Ib.* p. 45.

ently done, a Light was brought in: And then the Prieſt anointed the Cheeks of all thoſe who had lamented, pronouncing with a ſoft Murmur theſe words;

Θαῤῥεῖτε μύσαι τῷ Θεῷ σεσωσμένῳ,
Ἔσται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία.

Be confident, ye initiated Ones of the ſaved God, for there ſhall be Salvation unto us from our Labours.

I might yet produce ſeveral other Examples of the ſame kind; but thoſe already alledged, do ſufficiently declare the nature of the Pagan Symbols, that they were ſecret Marks, Words, or Tokens, communicated at the time of Initiation, or a little before, unto thoſe who were conſecrated, or entred in their reſerved or hidden Rites, and to none elſe; by the Declaration, Manifeſtation, or Pronuntiation whereof, thoſe more devout Idolaters knew each other, and were with all freedom and liberty of Acceſs, admitted to their nocturnal and more intimate Myſteries and Villanies, from whence all others as prophane and unworthy, were kept out, and excluded; which ſaid Symbols, thoſe who had received them, were obliged carefully to conceal, and not on any ac-

count whatſoever to divulge or reveal.

Now, for all theſe Reaſons, the Apoſtles Creed was by our Anceſtors very fitly termed a *Symbol*, becauſe it was ſtudiouſly concealed from the *Pagan* World, and not revealed to the *Catechumens* themſelves, till juſt before their Baptiſm, or Initiation in the Chriſtian Myſteries, when it was delivered unto them, as that ſecret Note, Mark, or Token, by which the Faithful in all parts of the World ſhould interchangeably know and be known.

That the Creed was carefully preſerved from the Knowledge of the Prophane, is a thing abundantly aſſerted by the Primitive Writers; St. *Cyprian* aſſures us hereof, That [a] *the Sacrament of Faith*, that is, the Creed, *was not to be prophaned*, or divulged: For which he cites two Texts of Scripture; the one, *Proverbs* xxiii. 9. *Speak not in the Ears of a Fool, for he will deſpiſe the Wiſdom of thy Words*; and the other, *Matthew* vii. 6. *Give not that which is holy unto the Dogs, neither caſt ye your Pearls before*

[a] Sacramentum fidei non eſſe profanandum, apud Salomonem in Parœmiis, in aures imprudentis noli quidquam dicere, ne quando audierit, irrideat ſenſatos Sermones tuos. Item in Evangelio ꝙ Matthæum, ne dederitis ſanctum canibus, neque miſeritis margaritas veſtras ante porcos, ne fortè conculcent ea pedibus ſuis, & converſi elidant vos. *Teſtim. lib.* 3. *ad Quirin. Teſtim.* 50. p. 429.

fore Swine, leſt they trample them under their Feet, and turn again, and rent you. St. *Ambroſe* moſt pathetically exhorts to the utmoſt Vigilancy to conceal the Chriſtian Myſteries, and in particular, to be very [a] *careful not by incauteloufneſs to reveal the Secrets of the Creed or the Lord's Prayer*; and in ſeveral of the [b] Sermons of *Petrus Chryſologus*, there are frequent and earneſt Exhortations to preſerve and hide the Creed from publick Knowledge and Obſervation, that the unworthy and prophane might not have this Secret of God with them: nay, ſo exact and punctual were they in this regard, that the Creed was not declared to the *Catechumens* themſelves, till they were advanced to the higher Form of that Order; and being ripe and fit for Baptiſm, were ſpeedily by that Ordinance to commence perfect Members of the Viſible Church: Of which Cuſtom St. *Ambroſe* ſpeaks, where he writes, That [c] *on a Lord's Day, the Leſſons and Sermons being ended, and the* Catechumens *of the lower*

[a] Cave ne incautè Symboli vel Dominicæ Orationis divulges myſteria. *Tom.* 4. *de Cain & Abel, lib.* 1. *c.*9. p. 125.

[b] *Serm.* 58. p. 52. *Serm.* 59. p. 54. *Serm.* 60. p. 55, *&c.*

[c] Erat autem dominica, poſt lectiones atque tractatum, dimiſſis Catechumenis, Symbolum aliquibus competentibus in Baptiſteriis tradebam Baſilicæ. *Lib.* 5. *Epiſt.* 35. p. 129.

Rank diſmiſſed, that then in the Baptiſtery of the Church, he delivered the Symbol to ſome of the Competentes, who were the ſuperior Rank of the *Catechumens:* Conſonant unto which, it is related by *Ferrandus Diaconus* concerning a converted *Negro*, That [a] *firſt of all, according to cuſtom, he was a* Catechumen; *and then after ſome time, as the Feaſt of* Eaſter *drew nigh*, (which was their ſolemn time of Baptiſm) *he was advanced to the Rank of the Competentes*; where, amongſt the other Actions peculiar thereunto, this was one, *That he heard, and aſſented to the Symbol*; ſo that the *Catechumens* knew not the Creed till juſt before their Baptiſm; when it was delivered unto them as that private Mark or Sign by which the Chriſtians mutually knew each other: Unto which, it is not improbable, *Cæcilius* the Heathen Diſputant, in *Minucius Felix*, did blindly refer, when he ſaid, That [b] *the Chriſtians knew each other by hidden Notes or Marks, and loved almoſt before they were acquainted with one another*; ſeeing *Maximus Taurinenſis*

[a] Ex more Catechumenus, poſt aliquantum temporis propinquante ſolennitate Paſchali inter competentes offertur, ſcribitur, eruditur, —auditurus Symbolum profitetur. *Inter. oper. Fulgent. ep. ad Fulgent.* p. 204.

[a] Occultis ſe notis & inſignibus noſcunt, & amant mutuò penè antequam noverint. *Octav.* p. 81.

nenſis affirms, [g] *That the Apoſtles appointed the Myſtery of the Creed, to be a Mark of Diſtinction between Believers and Unbelievers, to diſcover both the Strangers and Enemies to the Faith of the Church, who either knew it not, or had corrupted it.* So that from the whole, it ſeems to me moſt evident, That the Title of Symbol attributed to the Creed, is to be derived from the Symbols uſed in the *Sacra*, or religious Rites of the Heathens; in alluſion whereunto, the Creed is ſo termed, becauſe it was delivered unto Perſons at their initiation and admiſſion by Baptiſm into the Viſible Church, as that ſecret Mark and Sign, by which they ſhould be known from all others, and mutually know each other.

[g] Apoſtoli —— myſterium Symboli tradiderunt, ut — ſignaculum Symboli inter fideles perfidoſque ſecerneret, & alienus à fide atque hoſtis appareret Eccleſiæ, qui aut tanquam baptizatus neſciſſet, aut tanquam hæreticus corrupiſſet, *Homil. in Symb.* p. 239.

But, [a] from the Names of the Creed, let us paſs unto the Creed it ſelf; and, in the next place, enquire after the Authors and Compoſers thereof, who have for many Ages ſucceſſively been eſteemed to have been the Apoſtles themſelves: from whence it is called the Apoſtles Creed. Now, that from the Days of the Apoſtles, there hath been uſed in the Church a certain Rule and

Form of Faith, not much unlike to our preſent Creed; I am ſo far from denying, that I ſhall endeavour to prove it in the enſuing Diſcourſe, from *Tertullian* and others of the moſt Primitive Writers: But that the Apoſtles themſelves ſhould be the immediate Authors of the Creed in the preſent Form that now it is, and that from their Days it hath without any variation been inviolably tranſmitted down to us by Tradition; This is that which is juſtly queſtionable, and I doubt not but to evince the contrary.

The firſt, I think, who hath given us this ſmooth Account concerning the Compoſition of the Creed, is St. *Ambroſe*; who writes, That [a] *the twelve Apoſtles, as skilful Artificers, aſſembled together, and made a Key by their common Advice, that is, the Creed; by which the Darkneſs of the Devil is diſcloſed, that the Light of Chriſt may appear:* Or, if the Sermon, in which this Paſſage is, be not the genuine Off-ſpring of ſo great a Man, it is not long after his time that *Ruffinus* gives the ſame Account of it, where he relates,

[a] Duodecim Apoſtoli velut periti artifices in unum convenientes, clavem ſuo conſilio conflaverunt, clavem enim quandam ipſum Symbolum dixerim, per quod reſerantur diaboli tenebræ, ut lux Chriſti adveniat. *Tom.* 3. *Serm.* 38. p. 265.

relates, That [a] *they had received by Tradition from their Fathers, that after the Aſcenſion of our Saviour, and the Effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, before the Apoſtles ſeparated from each other to go into the ſeveral Parts of the habitable World, to preach the Goſpel to them; they ſettled amongſt themſelves the Rule of their future preaching, to prevent their teaching different Doctrines, during their Separation, unto thoſe whom they ſhould invite to the Chriſtian Faith: wherefore they aſſembled all together, and being full of the Holy Ghoſt, they compoſed the Creed; each one inſerting what he thought convenient; and ordained it to be a Teſt of their future Sermons, and a Rule to be given unto the Faithful.* The like is alſo aſſerted by [b] *Leo Magnus*, [c] *Jerom*, [d] *John Caſſian*, and an innumerable number of other Authors; ſince from the Days of *Ruffinus*, it hath for ſeveral hundreds of Years been generally believed, that the

[a] Tradunt majores noſtri, quod poſt aſcenſionem Domini — Apoſtolos—ad ſingulas quemque proficiſci nationes. Diſceſſuri itaque ab invicem normam prius futuræ prædicationis in commune conſtituunt, ne forte alii ab aliis abducti diverſum aliquid his qui ad fidem Chriſti invitabantur, exponerent. Omnes ergò in uno poſiti & Spiritu Sancto repleti, breve iſtud futuræ ſibi prædicationis indicium, conferendo in unum quod ſentiebat unuſquiſque, componunt, atque hanc credentibus dandam eſſe regulam ſtatuunt. *Expoſit. in Symb. Apoſt.* §. 2. p. 565.

[b] *Epiſt.* 13. p. 109.

[c] *Tom.* 2. *adverſ. Error. Johan. Hieroſol. Ep.* 61. *cap.* 9. p. 219.

[d] *De Incarn. Dom. lib.* 5. p. 1272.

the twelve Apoſtles, before they went forth from *Jeruſalem* to preach the Goſpel, agreed on this formulary of Faith to be the Rule and Standard of all their Sermons, which without any Variation ſhould be delivered to their Proſelytes and Converts.

But beſides this Opinion, that the Apoſtles were in general the Authors of the Creed; ſome have advanced one ſtep farther, and affirmed, that every Apoſtle inſerted his particular Article; by which, according to the number of the Apoſtles, they have divided the Creed into twelve Articles, allowing one Article for each Apoſtle: A full Account whereof is in a Sermon falſly attributed to St. *Auſtin*; where the Author thereof gives us this following relation, concerning each particular Article that was put in by each particular Apoſtle. [a] *Peter*, ſaith he, ſaid, *I believe in God the Father Almighty*; John, *maker of Heaven*

[a] Petrus dixit, Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem;

Johannes dixit, Creatorem cœli & terræ; Jacobus dixit, credo & Jeſum Chriſtum, filium ejus unicum, Dominum noſtrum; Andreas dixit, qui conceptus eſt de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Mariâ Virgine; Philippus ait, paſſus ſub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus & ſepultus; Thomas ait, deſcendit ad inferna, tertiâ die reſurrexit à mortuis; Bartholomæus dixit, aſcendit ad cœlos, ſedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis; Matthæus dixit, inde venturus judicare vivos & mortuos; Jacobus Alphæi, credo & in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam Eccleſiam Catholicam; Simon Zelotes, Sanctorum communionem, remiſſionem peccatorum; Judas Jacobi, carnis reſurrectionem; Matthias complevit, vitam æternam. Amen. *Tom.* 10. *Serm. de Temp.* 115. p. 359.

and

and Earth; James, *and in* Jeſus Chriſt *his only Son, our Lord*; Andrew, *who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin* Mary; Philip, *ſuffered under* Pontius Pilate, *was crucified, dead and buried*; Thomas, *he deſcended into Hell, the third Day he roſe again from the Dead*; Bartholomew, *he aſcended into Heaven, ſitteth at the right Hand of God the Father Almighty*; Matthew, *from thence ſhall he come to judge the Quick and the Dead*; James *the Son of* Alpheus, *I believe in the Holy Ghoſt, the Holy Catholick Church*; Simon Zelotes, *the Communion of Saints, the Forgiveneſs of Sins*; Jude *the Brother of* James, *the Reſurrection of the Body*; Matthias, *Life everlaſting*. Amen.

Now as to the Truth of this Tradition, I think it is altogether to be denied, and that for ſeveral Reaſons, as that it was nigh four hundred Years after Chriſt, before the framing of the Creed by the Apoſtles was ever heard of; and even *Ruffinus* himſelf, one of the firſt Reporters thereof, though in the beginning of his Commentary he doth roundly aſſert it, yet in the [a] midſt thereof he ſpeaks of it doubtfully, as if its Authors were uncertain, and unknown.

Moreover,

[a] Cautiſſimè qui Symbolum tradiderunt, *&c. Expoſ. in Symb.* §. 20. p. 570.

Moreover, had the Apoſtles been the real formers of the Creed before their diſperſion from *Jeruſalem*, it cannot be imagined, that St. *Luke* in his Hiſtory of their Acts, would have wholly omitted ſo conſiderable a Fact as this: Neither can it be conceived, but that the innumerable Councils and Synods amongſt the Primitive Chriſtians, or at leaſt ſome of them, would in their Deciſions and Determinations of Faith and Doctrine, have had ſome Reference or other to this Apoſtolical Syſtem, as their Standard and Baſis, if any ſuch there had been: whereas no ſuch thing appears, but the contrary thereunto; for, as they never mentioned any ſuch Creed, ſo as occaſion offered, they compoſed new Creeds, and even performed one of the higheſt Parts of the Chriſtian Religion, I mean Baptiſm, by them; at leaſt, ſo they did by the *Nicene* Creed, as in the *Encyclical* Epiſtle of the Emperor *Baſilicus*, the ſaid Emperor declares, [a] *That He and all Believers before him, were baptized into the Creed of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers aſſembled at* Nice; and the Emperor *Zeno*, in his *Henoticon*, or Edict of Union, which he

[a] Τὸ Σύμβολον τ τιή ἁγίων πατέρων, τ ἐν Νικαίᾳ, —εἰς ὃ ἡμεῖς τε κ πάντες οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πιστεύσαντες ἐβαπτίσθημεν. *Evagr. Eccleſ. Hiſtor. lib.* 3. *c.* 4. p. 335.

he publiſhed after the Expulſion of *Baſiliſcus*, ſtrictly commanded, That [a] *all ſhould be baptized by the* Nicene *Creed alone, and that no Perſon or Church ſhould make uſe of any other Symbol, or Definition of Faith*; aſſuring us withal, *that this ſame method was obſerved by the third General Council held at* Epheſus, *where* Neſtorius *was condemned.* I might for the farther confirmation of this Point, urge ſeveral Arguments more; but it being ſo clear and evident, I ſhall only farther add, that if the Apoſtles had really framed, and delivered to their Succeſſors this Creed, every Church would have agreed therein; and there would not have been ſo many different and diverſe Creeds, as we find there were; ſcarce two Churches, I think I may ſafely venture to ſay, that not two, had exactly the ſame Symbol without any Variation or Difference: The *Deſcent into Hell*, as *Ruffinus* informs us, [b] *was neither in the* Roman, *nor* Oriental *Creeds:* The *Communion* of Saints was not in any Creed till above four hundred Years after Chriſt, and then not immediately received in all: The Clauſe of

[a] Πάντες ὖν οἱ λαοὶ ἓν ζωηφόρῳ ἀξιώματι φωτίσματος, αὐτὸ ἓ μόνον τὸ παραμβάνοντες βαπτίζουν. *Id. Ib.* c. 14. p. 345.

[b] In Eccleſiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum, deſcendit ad Inferna, ſed neque in Orientis Eccleſiis habetur hic ſermo. *Expoſ. in Symb.* §. 20. p. 570.

of *Life Everlaſting* was omitted in ſeveral, whilſt in others it was inſerted. But not to exemplify in any more Particulars, whoſoever ſhall compare the *Grecian*, or as ſome may think it more fitly termed, the *French* Creed, recorded by *Irenæus*; thoſe of *Carthage*, cited by *Tertullian*; that of *Aquileia*, commented on by *Ruffin*; that of *Hippo*, repeated by St. *Auſtin*; that of *Ravenna*, extant in *Petrus Chryſologus*; that of *Turin*, explained by *Maximus* Biſhop of that Church; and ſeveral other Creeds here and there interſperſed in the Primitive Writings: I ſay, whoſoever ſhall compare theſe Creeds together, ſhall find them vaſtly different; and that there are very few Articles, in the Order and Expreſſion whereof, they do all without Exception, agree: Which conſideration, with thoſe forementioned, ſufficiently evidence, that the Apoſtles neither were, nor could be the Authors or Compoſers of our preſent Creed, that paſſes under their Name.

But though this Creed be not of the Apoſtles immediate framing, yet it may be truly ſtyled *Apoſtolical*, not only becauſe it contains the Sum of the Apoſtles Doctrine, but alſo, becauſe the Age thereof is ſo great, that its Birth muſt be fetched from the very Apoſtolick

lick Times: It is true, the exact Form of the preſent Creed cannot pretend to be ſo ancient by four hundred Years; but a Form not much different from it, was uſed long before. *Irenæus*, the Scholar of *Polycarp*, the Diſciple of St. *John*, where he repeats a Creed not much unlike to ours, he aſſures us, that [a] *the Church diſperſed throughout the whole World had received this Faith from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples*; which is alſo affirmed by *Tertullian* of one of his Creeds, That [b] *that Rule of Faith had been current in the Church from the beginning of the Goſpel:* And which is very obſervable, although there was ſo great a diverſity of Creeds, as that ſcarce two Churches did exactly agree therein, yet the Form and Subſtance of every Creed, was in a great meaſure the ſame; ſo that, except there had been from the very Plantation of Chriſtianity, a Form of ſound Words, or a Syſtem of Faith delivered by the firſt Planters thereof, it is not eaſy to conceive, how all Churches ſhould harmonize, not only in the Articles themſelves, into which they were baptized, but in a great meaſure alſo, in the Method and Order of them.

[a] Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκκλησία καίπερ κατ' ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης — διεσπαρμένη μέχρι τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πίστιν. *Lib.* 1. c. 2. p. 35.

[b] Hanc regulam ab initio Evangelii decucurriſſe. *Adverſ. Praxean*, p. 316.

But

But now the Creed, or at leaſt a great part of it, being ſo very ancient, and the Records of thoſe Times being withal ſo few, it will be a difficult Task to give an exact and punctual Account of its certain Authors, and of the preciſe intended meaning of every Article and Clauſe thereof; which Difficulty is yet farther increaſed by the extraordinary care and affected ſtudiouſneſs of the Primitive Fathers, to conceal the Creed; which was ſo great and unaccountable, as that they not only kept it from the knowledge of the *Heathens* and *Catechumens*, as hath been already demonſtrated, but they even ſcrupled to commit it to Writing, and rather choſe to tranſmit it down to their Poſterity by Tradition; for which reaſon *Ruffinus* calls it [a] *the Tradition of Faith*; and *Jerom* informs us, That [b] *this Symbol of our Faith and Hope delivered by the Apoſtles, was not written in Paper and Ink, but in the fleſhly Tables of the Heart*; in an agreeableneſs whereunto, *Petrus Chryſologus* frequently exhorts his Hearers, [a] *to*

[a] Traditio fidei. *Expoſ. in Symb.* §. 37. p. 575.

[b] In Symbolo fidei & ſpei noſtræ quod ab Apoſtolis traditum, non ſcribitur in chartâ & atramento, ſed in tabulis cordis carnalibus. *Tom.* 2. *adverſ. Error. Johan. Hieroſ. Epiſt.* 61. cap. 9. p. 219.

[a] *to preſerve this Gift in the moſt inward Receſſes of their Hearts, not to permit vile Paper to depreciate this precious Gift, or black Ink to darken this Myſtery of Light:* And many other ſuch like Paſſages might be eaſily produced, to evidence their ſtrange Fancy, to keep the Creed ſecret, concealed, and hidden; which together with the forementioned Conſiderations, do clearly ſhew, That it is no eaſy matter to give a ſatisfactory Account of the Authors and intended Senſe of every Article thereof, and may juſtly excuſe or leſſen a Miſtake or Defect herein.

[a] Hoc vitæ Symbolum — mens teneat — ne divinitatis pretioſum munus depreciet charta vilis, ne myſterium lucis atrum tenebret atramentum. *In Symb. Apoſt. Serm.* 59. p. 54.

Wherefore, having premiſed this Obſervation, I ſhall now endeavour to give the beſt account I can, of the Authors and Framers of the Creed, and of the deſigned Meaning of the ſeveral Articles thereof.

As for the Authors thereof, it cannot be denied, but that they were ſeveral and many; the Creed was neither the work of one Man, nor of one Day, but, during a long Tract of Time, paſſed ſucceſſively through ſeveral Hands, e'er it arrived to its preſent Perfection; the Compoſure of it was gradual, and

not inſtantaneous; the Manner whereof, I apprehend to have been theſe two ways: *Firſt*, Some of the Articles therein were derived from the very Days of the Apoſtles: *Secondly*, The others were afterwards added by the primitive Doctors and Biſhops, in oppoſition to groſs Hereſies and Errors that ſprung up in the Church.

As for the firſt of theſe, that ſome of the Articles were of the very inſerting of the Apoſtles; this will appear, if we conſider, that the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, who were the firſt ſent forth to preach the Goſpel, and to convert the World both *Jewiſh* and *Pagan*; when they formally received any one a Member into the Chriſtian Church by Baptiſm, they did then particularly demand his Aſſent to the Chriſtian Faith, and a Declaration of his Belief thereof: An Example whereof we have in the eighth of the *Acts*; where, after the Conference between the *Eunuch* and *Philip* the Evangeliſt, when the *Eunuch* teſtified his Deſire to be baptized, *Philip* told him, *That if he did believe with all his Heart, he might*; unto which, when the *Eunuch* replied, That he did believe *Jeſus Chriſt to be the Son of God*, then *Philip* baptized him, but not before. From which ſingle inſtance

ſtance it is manifeſt, that the Apoſtles and firſt Preachers of the Goſpel required the Aſſent of all Perſons at Baptiſm to ſome of the particular Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, which were the Platform and Model of the Creed, ſince that time, always uſed at Baptiſm. Which of the particular Articles of our preſent Creed were inſerted therein by them, I ſhall more largely ſhew in their particular Order, wherein they are diſpoſed in the Rule of Faith; it is ſufficient in this place to ſay, That they were the Articles of the Exiſtence of God; the Trinity; that *Jeſus* was Chriſt, or the Saviour of the World; the Remiſſion of Sins; and the Reſurrection.

Now as for theſe Apoſtolick Demands, they might not always be exactly the ſame, nor ſtill confined to the foremention'd Particulars, in every Church, and at every Seaſon, they might not mention the very ſame Particulars without either Addition or Diminution, but allow themſelves a liberty of Expreſſion according as they ſaw occaſion, and ſo in this reſpect they might ſometimes vary and alter; although, as to the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity, that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* was Chriſt the *Meſſias*, and the like, they never omitted

them: and the form of their Expreſſion, and delivery of their Confeſſion of Faith, was generally the ſame, near the Method and Order of our preſent Creed; for had it not been ſo, it is almoſt impoſſible to conceive, how all Churches ſhould ſo harmoniouſly agree in the general Form and Order of their reſpective Creeds, when yet they all diſagree in the Words and Expreſſions uſed therein.

This Apoſtolical Syſtem profeſſed at Baptiſm, was not committed to Writing, but obſerved by, or left with the Governors of every Church to uſe it on the like Occaſion, whoſe Duty it was to preſerve it undefiled and incorrupt, and to make it the terms of Chriſtianity and admiſſion to their Communion; unto which, ſome think St. *Paul* might have an eye, when he exhorted *Timothy* [a] *to keep that which was committed to his Truſt*, and [b] *to hold faſt the form of ſound Words:* But whether he had or no, I ſhall not here enquire. This is certain, that not only *Timothy*, but the Apoſtolical Churches, and all others who received it from them, were ſollicitous and careful to preſerve thoſe Articles and that Form of Faith, which was delivered unto them by the Apoſtles; and as the Apoſtles, ſo they in imi-

[a] 1 *Tim.* 6. 20.
[b] 2 *Tim.* 1. 13.

imitation of their Example, did always at Baptiſm require the Aſſent of the Perſon to be baptized, unto the Creed, or Articles of the Chriſtian Faith; which is a thing ſo univerſally known, as that it may ſeem almoſt needleſs to produce any Quotations for the proof of it: Thus *Ruffinus* relates, that in his Days, [a] *the ancient Cuſtom was retained at* Rome, *for Perſons to be baptized, publickly to recite the Creed:* And *Salvian*, That [b] *at Baptiſm the Chriſtians profeſt their Faith in God the Father Almighty, and in* Jeſus Chriſt *his Son*; according unto which, *Vigilius Tapſenſis*, or whoſoever elſe was the Author of thoſe Books concerning the Trinity to *Theophilus*, extant amongſt the Works of *Athanaſius*, writes, That [c] *thoſe who came to the ſacred Laver of Regeneration, confeſſed, ſaying, I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in* Jeſus Chriſt *his only Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt*; and long before any of theſe *Juſtin Martyr* aſ-

[a] Mos ibi ſervatur antiquus, eos qui gratiam baptiſmi ſuſcepturi ſunt, publicè Symbolum reddere. *Expoſ. in Symb.* §. 3. p. 565.

[b] Quæ eſt in Baptiſmo ſalutari Chriſtianorum confeſſio? — Credo inquis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, & in Jeſum Chriſtum filium ejus. *De Gubern. Dei*, l. 6. p. 197.

[c] Ad ſacrum Lavacrum Regenerationis venientes, confeſſi ſic, Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, & in Jeſum Chriſtum Filium ejus unigenitum, & Spiritum Sanctum. *Inter oper. Athanaſ. Tom.* 2. *lib.* 11. *ad Theophil.* p. 591.

[a] Ὅσοι ἂν πείθωσι, καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα—ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστί. *Apol.* 2. p. 93.

sures us, That [a] *none were baptized, unleſs they did firſt declare their Aſſent to the Doctrine and Faith of the Goſpel.*

Not long after the Apoſtles Days, and even in the Apoſtolick Age it ſelf, ſeveral Hereſies ſprung up in the Church, ſubverſive of the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity; to prevent the malignant Effects whereof, and to hinder ſuch Hereticks from an undiſcernible mixing themſelves with the orthodox Chriſtians, as alſo to eſtabliſh and ſtrengthen the true Believers in the neceſſary Truths of the Chriſtian Religion, the Chriſtian Verities oppoſite to thoſe Hereſies, were inſerted in the Creed; and together with thoſe other Articles, which had without any intermiſſion been conſtantly uſed from the time of the Apoſtles, were propoſed to the aſſent and belief of all Perſons who came to be baptized: The Governours of the Church judging this a prudent and an effectual courſe, to preſerve the Fundamentals of Religion from being undermined and overthrown by cunning and ſubtle Hereticks; which is the ſecond way by which the Creed was compoſed, *viz.* The Doctors and Governors of the Church did add unto thoſe of the

the Apoſtles, other Articles, in oppoſition to groſs and fundamental Hereſies and Errors, as they appeared and grew up, as *Ruffinus* informs us; that whereas it was in the beginning of the *Roman* Creed, *I believe in God the Father Almighty*, [a] *there were ſome other Clauſes added thereto in the Creeds of ſeveral Churches, occaſioned by certain Hereticks, to exclude the Senſe of their new Doctrine*; as particularly in the *Aquileian* Creed, [b] *to the word Almighty was ſubjoined inviſible, impaſſible, in contradiction to the Hereſy of the* Sabellians, *or* Patripaſſians, *that the Father was born of the Virgin, and ſo became both viſible and paſſible.* But, there is no need of any farther Teſtimonies to prove this Point at preſent, ſeeing a great part of the enſuing Treatiſe will be an abundant confirmation thereof.

[a] In cæteris locis propter nonnullos Hæreticos addita quædam videntur, per quæ novellæ doctrinæ ſenſus crederetur excludi. *Expoſ. in Symb. Apoſt.* §. 3. p. 565.

[b] His additur inviſibilem & impaſſibilem: ſciendum, quod duo iſti Sermones in Eccleſiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habentur, conſtat autem apud nos additos, Hæreſios cauſa Sabellii,—quæ Patrem ipſum, vel ex Virgine natum dicit & viſibilem factum, vel paſſum affirmat in carne. *Ibid.* §. 7. p. 567.

I would not be here miſtaken, as if I did mean, that none of thoſe Articles which were introduced into the Creed, and ſettled there in oppoſition to Hereſies, were ever uſed before, or demanded

manded at Baptiſm by the Adminiſtrer thereof; but my meaning is, that every Church being at liberty to expreſs the Fundamental Articles of the Chriſtian Faith in that way and manner, which ſhe ſaw fit *pro re nata*, or as occaſion offered; it is not improbable, but that before damnable Hereſies ſprung up, they might not always to a tittle follow the ſame Form of Words, nor exactly ask the ſame Queſtions. As for Example, the Doctrines of the Trinity, of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*'s being Chriſt, or the *Meſſias*, of Remiſſion of Sins through his Name, and of the Reſurrection, were at the firſt Preaching of the Goſpel ſufficient, without a particular Explication of the Actions of the Father, and the State of the Son; as *Philip* only required the *Eunuch* to believe, that *Jeſus Chriſt was the Son of God:* And if at ſome Seaſons they might mention the Humiliation and Exaltation of Chriſt, and the ſeveral Acts thereof, at other Seaſons they might omit them, and not conſtantly expreſs the Particulars in that order in which they are now found in the Creed, till the appearance of contrary Hereſies gave them occaſion ſo to do; ſo that when any Article was added to the Creed, it was not the introduction of a new

new Point, but the vindicating and ſettling of an old one, and a conſtant perpetual Profeſſion and Declaration of that Truth, which before was only arbitrarily and uncertainly expreſſed, ſeeing every one, before thoſe contrary Errors aroſe, was ſuppoſed firmly to believe and own it. In which reſpect, I may ſay of the Creed as *Vincentius Lirinenſis* doth of the Canons and Determinations of Councils, that the deſign of the Church thereby is, [a] *That what was before more ſimply, ſhould now more diligently be believed; that what was more ſeldom, ſhould now more frequently be preached; and that what was more unconcernedly, ſhould for the future be more carefully worſhipped.*

[a] Quid unquam aliud conciliorum decretis eniſa eſt, niſi ut quod antea ſimpliciter credebatur, hoc idem poſtea diligentiùs crederetur; quod antea lentius prædicabatur, hoc idem poſtea inſtantius prædicaretur; quod antea ſecurius colebatur, hoc idem poſtea ſollicitius excoleretur? *Commonit. adverſ. Hæreſ.* cap. 32. p. 104.

By theſe two ways then, was the preſent Creed framed; part thereof was tranſmitted down from the Apoſtles, and the other part thereof was afterwards added by the Governours of the Church, to prevent Hereſies from corrupting her Doctrine, and Hereticks from infecting her Members: By the which of theſe two Ways each particular Article was inſerted in the Creed, I ſhall ſhew in

in the following part of this Treatiſe, and ſhall not here anticipate or foreſtall it.

This being then the Method whereby the Creed was framed; although nothing that is contained therein, muſt be believed any farther, than it agrees with the holy Scriptures; yet the intended ſenſe of the greateſt part thereof, is not to be fetched from thence, but from the Writings of the Fathers, and from thoſe Hereſies againſt whom it was deſigned; which Expreſſion may at the firſt hearing be perhaps, eſteemed by ſome too haſty and inconſiderate, but the nature of the thing well reflected on, makes it evident and beyond contradiction; and if the Authority of others before me, will be more valued and better received, it will be no difficult Task to produce ſeveral, who have affirmed the ſame thing; but at preſent, I ſhall content my ſelf with the Teſtimony of Monſieur *Jurieu*, a *French* Divine now living, who writes in expreſs terms, That for his part [a] *he is perſuaded, that we muſt not ſeek the ſenſe of the Articles of the Apoſtles Creed in the Scriptures, but in the intention of thoſe who compoſed it.*

This

[a] Je ſuis perſuadé qu'il faut chercher le ſens des Articles du Symbole des Apôtres, non dans l'ecriture, mais dans l'intention de ceux qui ont composé ce Symbole. *Prejug. Legit. contre le Papiſme*, Part. 1. c. 1. p. 26.

This is that which I deſign to do, to ſearch into the intended meaning of this *Compendium* of Faith, which hath been received in all Ages with the greateſt Veneration and Eſteem: The reſpect and reverence that the Ancients paid unto it, hath been in part already related; and in theſe latter times, throughout ſeveral Centuries of Years, ſo great a Deference hath been rendred thereunto, as that it hath not been only uſed at Baptiſm, but in every publick Aſſembly it hath been uſually, if not always read, as the Standard and Baſis of the Chriſtian Faith, unto which the whole Congregation hath been wont to teſtify their unanimous Aſſent, by ſaying, *Amen.*

It is true, that the Primitive Chriſtians affecting an unaccountable Secreſy for this and their other Myſteries, as it hath been already ſhewn, did not in their Aſſemblies publickly recite the Creed, except at the times of Baptiſm, which beſides Caſes of Neceſſity, were only at *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*; from whence it comes to paſs, that the conſtant repeating of the Creed in the Church was not introduced till a long time after our Saviour's Incarnation.

The repetition of the Creed at every Aſſembly, was appointed in the *Eaſtern* Church

Church by [a] *Timothy*, Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*, who after having governed the Empire twenty ſeven Years, died *Anno* 521. About which time, *Petrus Gnapheus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, preſcribed alſo [b] *the perpetual recital of the Creed, at the publick Adminiſtration of Divine Service*; which before that time, as the Hiſtorian obſerves, [c] *was only repeated on the Day immediately preceding* Good Friday, *when the Catechiſms were more ſolemnly performed in order to the Celebration of Baptiſm, the* Eaſter *or the* Eaſter-Eve *enſuing:* Which Repetition on that Day was firſt appointed by the Council of *Laodicea*; the 46th Canon whereof is That [d] *thoſe who are to be baptized, muſt learn the Creed, and repeat it to the Biſhop or a Presbyter the* Thurſday *before* Eaſter.

In the *Weſtern* Churches, at a Synod of thirty five Biſhops, held under *Alaricus* at *Agatha* or *Agde*, in the Lower *Languedoc*, the ninth Canon thereof or-

[a] Τιμόθεος τὸ τῶν τεσσαρακοσίων δίκα καὶ ὀκτὼ πατέρων τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον καὶ ἑκάστῳ σύναξιν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν. *Theodor. Lector. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* l. 2. p. 563.

[b] Ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει τὸ σύμβολον λέγεσθαι. *Id. ib.* p. 566.

[c] Ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους λεγόμενον πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἀναστάσιμῳ τοῦ θείου πάθους, τῷ καιρῷ τῶν γινομένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων κατηχήσεων. *Id. Ibid.* p. 563.

[d] Baptizandos oportet fidei Symbolum diſcere, & quinta feria ultimæ Septimanæ vel Epiſcopo vel Preſbytero reddere. *Caranza Summ. Concil.* p. 98. *Edit. Genev.* 1600.

dains, That [a] *on the Lord's Day before* Eaſter, *the Creed ſhould be publickly preached in the Church to the Competentes*, or to thoſe of the *Catechumens*, who being ripe for Baptiſm, were ſpeedily to be admitted thereunto: But the general and conſtant reading thereof, ſeems not to have prevailed in the *Weſt*, till almoſt five hundred and ninety Years after Chriſt; when, in imitation of the *Eaſtern* Churches, the third Council of *Toledo*, by the [b] *Petition of K.* Recared, *ordered, That throughout all the Churches both of* Spain *and* Gallicia, *the Creed ſhould be repeated with a loud Voice every Lord's Day, that ſo the true Faith might be manifeſted and aſſented to, and the Hearts of the People being purified by Faith, they might be prepared to partake of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.*

[a] Symbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus Eccleſiis unâ die, id eſt ante octo dies Dominicæ Reſurrectionis, publicè in Eccleſiâ Competentibus prædicari. *Id. ibid.* p. 161.

[b] Petitione Recaredi Regis, conſtituit Synodus ut per omnes Eccleſias Hiſpaniæ & Galliciæ,—— Symbolum fidei recitetur,——quo fides vera manifeſta ſit, & teſtimonium habeat, & ad Chriſti Corpus, & ſanguinem prælibandum pectora populorum fide purificata accedant. *Id. Ib. Can.* 2. p. 254.

It muſt indeed be owned, That the Creed appointed to be read in the Church, both by *Timothy* Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and the third Council of *Toledo*, was the *Nicene* or *Conſtantinopolitan*

ſtantinopolitan Creed; which, for that time, through ſome Reaſons peculiar to that Age, did in ſome meaſure eclipſe the Apoſtles Creed, although this latter did in a little time recover its former Eſteem and Value, and for ſeveral Ages hath, next to the holy Scriptures, been always reputed the moſt venerable and divine Piece extant; and whilſt all other Creeds, excepting the *Nicene*, and that commonly aſcribed to *Athanaſius*, have periſhed as to their uſe, with their very Birth and Framing, this hath outlived them all, and for ſeveral hundred Years hath been uninterruptedly uſed, and even before thoſe two other Creeds, it hath been perpetually and conſtantly preferred.

Such a peculiar Honour hath Almighty God been pleaſed in his moſt wiſe Providence, to put upon this particular Creed: To the Explication of the ſeveral Articles whereof, I ſhall forthwith proceed; firſt repeating the Creed it ſelf, which is to be the ſubject of the enſuing Diſcourſe, and is as follows.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth; and in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary, ſuffered under

der Pontius Pilate, was Crucified, Dead, and Buried; he descended into Hell; the third Day he rose again from the Dead, he ascended into Heaven, and sitteth at the right Hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints, the Forgiveness of Sins, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting.

CHAP. II.

The Reason for which it is said in the Singular Number, I believe; *the meaning of the word* Believe: *by believing in God, we assent to his Existence, and Unity*; *the* Greek *and ancient* Latin *Creeds read*, I believe in ONE God, *which was designed against some blasphemous Deniers of the Divine Unity, who negatively were not the* Jews, *since they owned it*; *nor the Heathens principally, seeing the greater, or at least the wiser part of them acknowledged it: But positively, they were certain ancient Hereticks*; *in opposition unto whom, this Clause of* ONE God

is to be conſidered, either abſolutely or relatively; abſolutely it ſignifies, That there is but ONE God; *the* Valentinians, Cerdonians, Marcionites, *and others, introduc'd ſeveral Gods; the reaſon for which they did it; the Authors of this Hereſy lived in the Apoſtles time; againſt it the Creed declares, That we muſt believe in* ONE God; *which being underſtood relatively, or as it hath reference to what immediately follows in the Creed, ſignifies, that* ONE *and the ſame God is the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, in contradiction to ſeveral Hereticks, who maintained Opinions contrary thereunto; the Title* FATHER, *denotes God to be the Origine of all Beings, in contradiction to the* Gnoſticks, *and others, who, being worſe than the Heathens, diſown'd him to be ſuch, and refuſed to give him the Appellation of* FATHER, *which is here briefly explained, but attributed it to another Being, different from him: Or, it denotes the peculiar Relation of the Father unto the Son, in which ſenſe it hath been alſo underſtood in the Creed, which is the primary ſenſe thereof, wherein it hath been in the*

Creed

Creed from the Foundation of Chriſtianity. The proper Notion of the word ALMIGHTY; *it hath a threefold ſignification in the Creed:* Firſt, *It denotes God's infinite Power, which ſhews the Reaſon why it is placed before the making of Heaven and Earth; in this ſenſe it was intended againſt the* Valentinians, Simonians, Menandrians, *&c. whoſe Hereſies are explained:* Secondly, *It implies God's providential Government of the World, in oppoſition to the Denial thereof by the* Gnoſticks, *and* Marcionites; *the former of whom at leaſt, aſcribed this word* ALMIGHTY, *thus underſtood, to another Being, diverſe from the ſupreme and only God; the reaſon of their Blaſphemies againſt the Divine Providence:* Thirdly, *It includes God's Immenſity and Omnipreſence, in contradiction to the Error of the* Gnoſticks, *which confined God within a certain limited Space. What is to be underſtood by* MAKER, *and what by* HEAVEN *and* EARTH; *the blaſphemous Tenets of ſeveral Hereticks about the Creation of the World;* Simon Magus, *and ſeveral others, attributed the making thereof to Angels; the*

portentous Syſtem of the Valentinians, *concerning the Origine of Beings, and the Creation of the Univerſe; the* Cerdonians *and* Marcionites *maintained two eternal Principles, God and the Devil, the latter of whom they affirmed to have been the Former and Maker of the World: Againſt all theſe Hereticks it was inſerted in the Creed, that the ſupreme God, the Father Almighty,* is maker of of Heaven and Earth.

THE firſt words at the Head of the Creed, which muſt be ſuppoſed to be of like force with reſpect to every Article and Clauſe therein, are *I believe*; wherein are two things obſervable: The firſt whereof is, the Number, wherein the word *Believe* is expreſſed; which is not the Plural, *We believe*, but the Singular, *I believe*; which came from the manner of the *Catechumens* repeating the Creed, or at leaſt yielding their aſſent unto it at Baptiſm, which they did ſeverally and apart; or, if for convenience ſake, many might recite or aſſent unto the Creed together, yet each one to declare his proper perſonal belief thereof, ſaid *I believe*;

lieve; ſo writes *Salvian*, [a] *At Baptiſm thou didſt not only renounce the Devil and all his Works, but thou ſaidſt, I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in* Jeſus Chriſt *his Son:* And to the ſame purpoſe it is related by *Vigilius Tapſenſis*, That [b] *all thoſe who came to the ſacred Laver of Regeneration confeſſed thus, I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in* Jeſus Chriſt *his only Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt*; it being moſt fit and proper, that every Perſon at his admiſſion into the Chriſtian Church, ſhould make a particular and perſonal Declaration of his Faith and Belief.

[a] Abrenuncio, inquis, Diabolo, &c. & quid poſtea? Credo, inquis, in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, & in Jeſum Chriſtum filium ejus. *De Gubern. Dei, lib.* 6. p. 197, 198.

[b] Ad ſacrum Lavacrum Regenerationis venientes, confeſſi ſic, Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, & in Jeſum Chriſtum Filium ejus unigenitum, & Spiritum Sanctum. *Inter Oper. Athanaſ. Tom.* 2. *lib.* 11. *ad Theoph.* p. 591.

But there is farther obſervable in theſe two words, the Act mentioned or ſpecified therein, *viz. Believing*; which, that I may avoid all needleſs and impertinent Criticiſms, I do in brief apprehend to ſignify in this place no other, than the full and undoubted aſſent of our Mind and Underſtanding to the truth and verity of every particular Clauſe and Article contained in this Creed or Symbol.

The firſt whereof is, that we believe *in God*, which worthily deſerves to be placed in the beginning of the Creed; ſince, according to the obſervation of *Origen*, [a] *a fitting Apprehenſion and Faith of God is the Baſis and Foundation of all Virtues:* In which Expreſſion there are contained theſe two things, the Exiſtence of God, and the Unity of the Godhead. That the Exiſtence and Being of God is here firſt of all profeſſed, is no wonder, ſince on it our whole Religion depends; this is the Foundation of every thing that is ſacred; without it Religion would be a mere fancy and conceit, the moſt fooliſh and unreaſonable thing in the World: [b] *He* therefore, ſaith the Apoſtle, *that cometh unto God, muſt believe that he is*; that is, muſt be fully perſuaded in his mind, that there is a God; and not only yield a naked Aſſent to the certainty of his Being and Entity, but apprehend him under due and congruous Notions to his Nature and Eſſence, [c] *as the firſt Cauſe and Foundation of all things, infinite, unbegotten, immortal, perpetual, only, whom no bodily Shape can*

[a] Βάσιν γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ ἐδραίωμα εἶναι πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν Θεῷ δόξαν τε καὶ πίστιν. *Dialog.* 1. p. 1.

[b] *Heb.* xi. 6.

[c] Prima cauſa, fundamentum cunctorum quæcunque ſunt, infinitus, ingenitus, immortalis, perpetuus, ſolus, quem nulla delineat forma corporalis, nulla determinat circumſcriptio, qualitatis expers, quantitatis, ſine ſitu, motu, & habitu. *Arnob. lib.* 1. p. 17.

can deſcribe, or Circumſcription determine, without Quantity or Quality, Diſpoſition, Motion or Habit; as *Ruffinus* writes in his Expoſition of this Article, [a] *When thou heareſt*, ſaith he, *the Word* GOD, *underſtand a Subſtance without beginning, and without end, ſimple, without mixture, inviſible, incorporeal; to whom nothing is adjoined, in whom nothing is created, without Author, for he himſelf is the Author of all.*

[a] Deum cùm audis, ſubſtantiam intellige ſine initio, ſine fine, ſimplicem, ſine ulla admixtione: inviſibilem, incorpoream; in quâ nihil adjunctum, nihil creatum ſit, ſine auctore, eſt enim ille qui Auctor eſt omnium. *Expoſ. in Symb.* §. 4 p. 566.

But, the Exiſtence of God having been in all Ages univerſally acknowledged, without any conſiderable Oppoſition thereunto, the Unity of the Godhead hath been more generally inculcated as the chiefeſt and more principal ſenſe of this Article; for the better underſtanding of which, it will be convenient to take notice of the obſervation of *Ruffinus*, That [b] *in all the* Eaſtern *Creeds, it is, I believe in* ONE *God the Father*; where, if by the *Eaſtern* he means the *Nicene*, or *Conſtantinopolitan*, it is certainly true; or, if he means the ancient Creeds uſed before either of thoſe, it is true not only of the *Eaſtern*, but of the *Weſtern* alſo;

[b] Orientis Eccleſiæ omnes ita tradunt, Credo in unum Deum Patrem. *Expoſ. in Sym.* §. 4. p. 566.

for in all the moſt Primitive Creeds, whether *Latin* or *Greek*, this Article runs, *I believe in one God*, or, *in the only God*; as in the two Creeds of *Irenæus*, and three of *Origen*'s, Ἕνα Θεὸν, *One God*; and in three of *Tertullian*'s, *Unum*, or, *Unicum Deum*, *One*, or, *the only God*: And whoſoever ſhall with any Obſervation conſider the Writings of the moſt ancient Fathers, and eſpecially of *Irenæus*, ſhall find, that there was a peculiar Force and Energy couched in this Expreſſion of *One God*, in contradiction to the wretched Notions and Tenets of ſome Men, whereby they oppoſed and blaſphemed this fundamental Point of the Chriſtian Religion, the Unity of the Divine Eſſence.

As for the Perſons who were condemned by this Clauſe, it will be readily granted, that they were not the *Jews*, ſeeing the Unity of the Godhead is every where inculcated in the Moſaical Law, and the Body of that People have been ſo unmovably fixed and confirmed in the Belief thereof, that now throughout their ſixteen hundred Years Captivity and Diſperſion, they have never quitted or deſerted this Principle, that God is One, as is evident from their thirteen Articles of Faith, compoſed

compoſed by *Maimonides*, [a] *the ſecond whereof is the Unity of the bleſſed God*; which is there explained to be in ſuch a peculiar and tranſcendent manner, as that nothing like it can be found: And in their Liturgy, according to the uſe of the *Sepharadim*, or the *Spaniards*, which is read in theſe Parts of the World in their Synagogues; in the very firſt Hymn, according to the Edition of *David Di Kraſto Tartas*, printed at *Amſterdam*, *Anno* 422, of their little Computation, which falls in with *Anno Chriſti* 1662; or, as it is in a larger Edition by *Emanuel Benveniſti* at *Amſterdam*, *Anno Chriſti* 1642, in the ſecond Hymn, which is an admiring Declaration of the Excellencies of the Divine Nature; the repeated *Chorus* of that Hymn is, [b] *All Creatures both above and below, teſtify and witneſs all of them as one, that the Lord is One, and his Name One.*

[a] העיקר רשני יחור השם יתברך: *Edit. Sebaſt. Munſter. Vuormac.* 1529.

[b] כל ברואי מעלה ומטה יעידון יגידון כלם כאחד ״ אחד ושמו אחד: *In Seder Tephiloth. Edit. Amſterdam* 1662. p. 1.

And as this Aſſertion of the Divine Unity was not intended againſt the *Jews*, ſo neither is it probable that it was principally deſigned againſt the *Pagans*: I do not deny, but that the Apoſtles and firſt Preachers of the Goſpel did carefully inſtruct and warn their

Heathen Converts againſt *Polytheiſm*, or a multiplicity of Gods, and directed them to the ſolitary Worſhip of the true and only God; as St. *Paul* and *Barnabas* preached unto the *Lycaonians*, to turn from the idolatrous Services of *Jupiter* and *Mercury* [a] *unto the living God, who made Heaven and Earth, and the Sea, and all things that are therein*; and the more firmly to eſtabliſh them in the true and neceſſary Notion of the Unity of the divine Eſſence, it is very likely, that frequently they might mention this with the other Chriſtian Verities, which they demanded at Baptiſm: But that which I ſay, is this, that the conſtant repetition of this Clauſe, in the order wherein it now ſtands in the Creed, was chiefly deſigned againſt ſome Perſons different from the *Pagans*; for to do the *Heathens* juſtice, and not to make them worſe than really they were, I do not think that it can be proved, that the generality, or at leaſt the wiſeſt and moſt thinking part of them, did ever own a Plurality of Gods; but on the contrary, a large Volume of Teſtimonies might be produced both from *Heathens* and *Chriſtians*, to evidence, that they believed but only one eternal, ſupreme, unbegotten, and independent Being;

[a] Acts xiv. 15.

ing; from whom all their other inferior Divinities, vulgarly alſo called Gods, derived their Original and Eſſence.

As for the *Heathen* Writers, an infinity of Teſtimonies might be cited from *Plutarch*, *Seneca*, *Maximus* of *Tyre*, *Plato*, *Virgil*, *Hecatæus Abderita*, *Xenophanes Colophonienſis*, *Orpheus*, *Cicero*, and a multitude of others, who have all aſſerted, that the *Pagans* received but one ſupreme, infinite, and ſelf-exiſtent God; unto whom the Title of *Optimus*, *Maximus*, *the Greateſt*, *and the Beſt*, was alone aſcribed; and that for thoſe other innumerable Divinities, called alſo *Gods*, they were only ſo termed in an inferiour and ſecondary ſenſe, as they had ſome Reſemblance in their Natures and Virtues to the ſupreme God, from whom they were derived and generated, and whoſe Children and Off-ſpring they were, and as they were Interceſſors and Mediators between him and the Sons of Men. Εἷς Θεὸς ἀ-πάντων.

But there will be no need to cite any particular Paſſages from the *Pagan* Authors to confirm this Point, ſeeing the *Chriſtian* Writers, and even thoſe who have profeſſedly writ and diſputed againſt the Idolatry and Superſtition of the *Heathens*, have at the ſame time acknowledged, that they believed but one ſupreme

preme and eternal God. St. *Auſtin* informs us, that although the *Pagans* worſhipped ſeveral Deities, yet their Doctors declared theſe to be but ſo many different Names of their great God *Jupiter*, who was called in the Air *Juno*, in the Sea *Neptune*, in the Earth *Pluto*, in Hell *Proſerpina*, in War *Mars*, in Vineyards *Bacchus*, in the Woods *Diana*; yea, all thoſe other inferiour Gods and Goddeſſes, as *Opis*, *Lucina*, *Cunina*, *Fortuna*, *Rumina*, and the reſt of that numberleſs Company, were [a] *all of them but one and the ſame* Jupiter, who, according to the diverſe and various Benefits that he beſtowed upon Mankind, was worſhipped under different Names and Appellations ſuitable thereunto; *which being ſo*, as the ſaid Father continues there to write, *what would they loſe, if in a more prudent* Compendium *they did worſhip but one God? For, what part of him would be deſpiſed, when he himſelf is worſhipped? Homer* and *Heſiod* were the firſt, as *Athenagoras* relates from *Herodotus*, [b] *who invented the Names, Generations, Titles,*

[a] Hi omnes dii deæque ſit unus Jupiter, — Hæc ſi ita ſint — quid perderent, ſi unum Deum colerent prudentiore compendio? Quid enim ejus contemneretur, cum ipſe coleretur? *De Civit. Dei. lib.* 4. *c.* 11. p. 232.

[b] Οὗτοί γ εἰσιν οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίαν Ἕλλησι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες. *Legat. pro Chriſtian.* p. 16.

Titles, Honours, Arts, and Shapes of the Grecian *Gods*; and yet *Juſtin Martyr* affirms, that not only *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, with the reſt of the wiſe Philoſophers, but that even this blind, ſuperſtitious, and idolatrous [a] *Homer, in the Golden Chain of his Gods and Goddeſſes, doth at length place all the Power and Dominion in one ſupreme God, declaring the other Gods to be ſo far diſtant from the Deity, that they were to be reckoned amongſt Men.*

[a] Τῷ γὰρ ἑνὶ καὶ πρώτῳ θεῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὸ κράτος ἁπάντων ὁ μηρος διὰ τῆς χρυσῆς ἐκείνης ἀναφορέως Ζηνὸς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς θεοὺς τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν ἔφη τῆς ἐκείνου θεότητος ὥστε αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ ἀνθρώπων ὀνομάζειν ἀξιῶν. *Ad Græc. Paraneſ.* p. 22.

Lactantius in the *Firſt Book of his Inſtitutions*, both learnedly and largely proves from the *Heathen* Poets and Philoſophers, that they believed but one ſupreme and ſelf-exiſtent God; the like he doth again, in his Book *of the Anger of God*, where he ſhews, that although *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, *Hermes*, *Antiſthenes*, and ſeveral others, [b] *who were too many to be all mentioned, made uſe of ſeveral Names, yet they all agreed, that there was but one Power which governed the World.*

[b] Longum eſt ſingulorum ſententias exequi, qui licèt diverſis nominibus ſint abuſi, ad unam tamen poteſtatem, quæ mundum regeret, concurrunt. *De irâ Dei, cap.* 11. p. 796.

There

There is a remarkable Paſſage in *Arnobius* to this purpoſe, wherein an *Heathen* is repreſented, complaining, That the [a] *Chriſtians wrongfully accuſed thoſe of his Religion, to deny a ſupreme God; whereas,* ſaith he, *he is by us called* Jupiter, *and is eſteemed the greateſt Being, ſpacious Temples and auguſt Capitols being built and dedicated unto him.* Unto which *Arnobius* amongſt other things, pertinently replies, [b] *Let it be ſo as you ſay, that your* Jupiter *and the Omnipotent God, are one and the ſame: But, why then do you unjuſtly perſecute us? Why do you dread the very mentioning of our Name, as the worſt* Omen, *if you worſhip the ſame God with us? Or, why in the ſame Cauſe ſhould the inferior Gods be kind to you, and Enemies unto us?* But unto this the *Heathen* anſwers, [c] *The Gods are not Enemies to you, becauſe you adore the Omnipotent God, but becauſe you deify, and with*

[a] Fruſtra nos falſo & calumnioſo inceſſitis & appetitis crimine, tanquam eamus inficias eſſe Deum majorem; cùm à nobis & Jupiter nominatur, & optimus habeatur & maximus: cumque illi auguſtiſſimas ſedes, & capitolia conſtituerimus immania. *Lib.* 1. p. 19.

[b] Sint, ut vultis unum—ecquid ergo injuſtis perſequimini nos odiis? Quid, ut ominis peſſimi, noſtri nominis inhorreſcitis mentione, ſi, quem Deum colitis, eum & nos? Aut quid in eâdem causâ vobis eſſe contenditis familiares Deos, inimicos atque infeſtiſſimos nobis? *Id. ibid.*

[c] Sed non idcirco Dii vobis infeſti ſunt, quòd omnipotentem colatis Deum; ſed quòd hominem natum, & quòd perſonis infame eſt, vilibus crucis ſupplicio interemptum, & Deum fuiſſe contenditis,— & quotidianis ſupplicationibus adoratis. *Id. ibid.*

with your daily Prayers worſhip a Man that was born, and which is moſt infamous, one that was put to death with vile Perſons on a Croſs. So that from theſe few Quotations, it is moſt evident, that the generality of the *Heathens*, or at leaſt the wiſeſt and beſt part of them, believed but one infinite, ſupreme, and eternal God; from whence it follows by a natural conſequence, that the Unity of the Godhead profeſſed in the Creed, could not principally be intended againſt them.

It remains therefore, that we ſearch elſewhere; and that, ſince the occaſion of this Clauſe was chiefly taken neither from *Jews* nor *Gentiles*, we fix it on ſome falſe and heretical *Chriſtians*; which we have the greater reaſon to do, ſeeing not long after the Apoſtles Days, and even in thoſe Days themſelves, there were ſeveral Sects and Diviſions of Hereticks who embraced Tenets contrary hereunto, as alſo to what immediately follows concerning God, that he is the *Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth*; and to ſeveral other Articles, which were all inſerted in the Creed, on purpoſe to oppoſe thoſe Hereſies; from the conſideration of the nature and particular Points whereof, it neceſſarily follows, that the deſigned meaning

meaning of thoſe Articles is only to be fetch'd and brought: The Books of *Irenæus* will be of great uſe to us herein, and afford us the greateſt Light into thoſe Parts of the Creed of any Book that I know, ſince therein we have the ampleſt and cleareſt Relation of the ancient Hereſies of the *Gnoſticks*, *Marcionites*, and others; againſt which, a great part of the Creed was levelled and intended; and in particular, this Clauſe of *One God*, which was inſerted to require our Belief, that there is but one infinite, ſupreme, beginningleſs, and eternal God; and that this One God, and none other, was the *Father* of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and of all other Beings whatſoever, *Almighty*, *maker of Heaven and Earth:* So that this Expreſſion of *One God* is to be underſtood, either abſolutely, without regard to any other Article in the Creed, and ſo it denotes our Faith, that there is but one eternal, independent, ſelf-exiſtent God; or relatively, as it hath reference to what immediately follows, and ſo it ſignifies, that one and the ſame God, and not a different or diverſe Being from him, is *the Father Almighty*, *maker of Heaven and Earth.*

As for the firſt of theſe, that hereby it is profeſſed, that there is but one infi-

nite,

nite, omnipotent, eternal, and ſelf-exiſtent God, the very Clauſe it ſelf, *I believe in God*; but eſpecially, as it is in all the moſt primitive Creeds, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, *I believe in One God*, puts it beyond doubt or queſtion. That which is farther incumbent on me, is, to ſhew the Hereſies that gave occaſion for this Profeſſion in the Creed, and to prove that they were the real Cauſes thereof.

As for the Hereſies, I ſuppoſe them to have been thoſe of the *Valentinians*, *Cerdonians*, *Marcionites*, and others, who, as *Irenæus* aſſures us, were [a] *all the Diſciples and Succeſſors of that firſt grand Heretick* Simon Magus: As for the *Valentinians*, the moſt conſiderable Branch of the *Gnoſticks*, there was an exact agreement betwixt them in the ſame Principles; but their Opinions were various and inconſtant, for which they are [b] frequently reflected on by *Irenæus*. Some of them aſſerted two Coeval and Coexiſtent Principles, God and Matter, as *Droſerius* a Diſputant for this Sect, in the Dialogues of *Origen*, affirmed [c] *Matter to be Coeternal with God*; and *Hermogenes*, who was living when *Tertullian* wrote againſt him, maintained, That

[a] Omnes—Simonis Samaritani Magi Diſcipuli & Succeſſores ſunt. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 30. p. 83.

[b] *Lib.* 1. *c.* 5. p. 38. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 69. p. 300.

[c] Σύγχρονον ἡ ὕλη τῷ Θεῷ. *Dial.* 4. p. 90.

That [a] *Matter was Coeternal with the Lord, that it was neither born nor made, but was without both beginning and end*; which, as *Tertullian* there very ſolidly proves, was really and effectually to [b] *make two Gods*.

[a] Sumpſit à Stoicis Materiam cum Domino ponere, quæ & ipſa ſemper fuerit, neque nata, neque facta, nec initium habens omnino, nec finem. *Adverſ. Hermog.* p. 264.

[b] Ita Hermogenes duos Deos infert. *Ibid.* p. 265.

The reaſon which induced him to embrace this Opinion, as is eaſily to be gathered from *Tertullian*'s Treatiſe againſt him, was that puzzling and vexatious Queſtion ſo famous in the Primitive Church, Πόθεν τὸ κακὸν; or, Whence was Evil? For, not being willing to make God the Author of Evil, and withal imagining it to be a ſubſtantial Nature, and to have an original Cauſe ſuitable thereunto, that he might therefore throw the Source and Origine of it upon another, he affirmed [c] *Matter to be a natural evil Principle*, coeternal with God, who was contrary thereunto; from whence all other Evil had its ſpring and riſe: and from the ſame reaſon alſo, as [d] *Tertullian* aſſures us, *Marcion*, who ſaw *Polycarp* the Diſciple of St. *John*, roundly declared in words at length, That

[c] Materiam naturam malam. *Ibid.* p. 279.

[d] Duos Ponticus Deos affert,— paſſus infelix hujus præſumptionis inſtinctum, de ſimplici capitulo Dominicæ pronunciationis, — diſponentis exempla illa bonæ & malæ arboris, quod neque bona malos, neque mala bonos proferat fructus, &c. *Adverſ. Marcion. lib.* 1. p. 129.

That there were two coeternal independent Beings, the one a good God, the Father of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, Author of the Goſpel, and the Fountain, Source, and Origine of all Good; the other an evil God, the Creator of the World, the Giver of the Law, and the Cauſe, Root, and Author of all Evil.

It muſt indeed be owned, that the *Marcionites* diſagreed amongſt themſelves; for, although [a] *Marcion himſelf, with ſeveral of his Followers, introduced but two Principles*, yet, according to the relation of *Rhodon*, who lived at that time, *ſome of them advanced farther, and aſſerted three eternal Principles; the Chief and Head of whom, was one called* Synerus: Of which Faction alſo was *Megethius* in the *Dialogues* of *Origen*, who there affirms, That [b] *there were three Principles; the firſt, the good God, who was the Father of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt; *the ſecond, the Creator of the World; and the third, the Devil.*

[a] Ἕτεροι δὲ καθὼς καὶ ὁ ναύτης Μαρκίων δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσηγοῦνται· ἄλλοι δὲ πάλιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐξοκείλαντες, ὡς μόνον δύο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς ὑποτίθενται φύσεις, ὧν ἐστιν ἀρχηγὸς ὁ πρωτάτης Σωσέως. *Apud Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 5. c. 13. p. 177.*

[b] Ἐγὼ φημὶ εἶναι τρεῖς ἀρχὰς, Θεὸν τὸν Παλέρμα καὶ Χριστὸν ἀγαθὸν, καὶ ἄλλον τὸν δημιουργὸν, καὶ ἕτερον τὸν πονηρόν. *Dial. 1. p. 3.*

But the Body of the *Marcionites*, and their Maſter himſelf, maintained only two Gods; the one a good God, Father of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and

God of the *Chriſtians*; the other an evil God, maker of Heaven and Earth, and God of the *Jews*. So *Irenæus*, who lived in thoſe Days, aſſures us in ſeveral places, That [a] *the Followers of* Marcion *held but two Gods, who were naturally ſo, being diſtant from one another, the one a good, and the other an evil God:* And *Marcus*, the Champion for this Sect of the *Marcionites*, in the Dialogues of *Origen*, affirms, that for his part, [b] *he believed not three Principles, but only two, who were equally Self-exiſtent, without beginning, infinite, and in every place.*

[a] Hi qui à Marcione duos naturaliter dicentes Deos, diſtantes invicem, alterum quidem bonum, alterum autem malum. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 12. p. 194.

[b] Ἐγὼ ὀείζομαι ὃ τρεῖς ἀρχὰς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ δύο, πονηρὸν, καὶ ἀγαθὸν, —— αὐτοφυεῖς, καὶ ἀναρχοι ὅσαι ἀπέραντοι,——πάντη ἐσίν. *Dialog.* 2. p. 43.

But though this impious and abominable Tenet was in thoſe Days generally known under the Name of *Marcionitiſm*, as it was afterwards under that of *Manicheiſm*, yet it was both hatched and vented before *Marcion*, and much more before *Manes*; for, as for *Marcion*, he is by none allowed to have been the firſt inventer thereof, but all affirm him to have received it from his Maſter *Cerdon*, a noted Heretick in the early Days of *Chriſtianity*, of whom *Tertullian* writes,

[a] *That*

[a] *That he introduced two Beginnings, that is, two Gods, a good God, and a fierce God; the good One being the ſuperiour God, and the Creator of the World:* that [b] *he maintained, that there were two Gods; the one a good God, the Father of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt; *the other a juſt God, the Creator of all things:* And even before *Cerdon*, as well as before his Scholar *Marcion*, was this blaſphemous Hereſy broached in the Church; for *Theodoret* informs us, that both *Cerdon* and *Marcion* [c] *took the occaſion of their Blaſphemy from* Simon Magus: And *Epiphanius* poſitively aſſures us, that the Author of two eternal Principles, a good and a bad One, [d] *went to* Jeruſalem *about the Days of the Apoſtles, and there diſputed with the Elders about the Unity of the Godhead, and the Creation of the World.*

[a] Cerdon introducit initia duo, id eſt, duos Deos, unum bonum, & alterum ſævum, bonum ſuperiorem, ſævum hunc, mundi Creatorem. *De præſcript. adverſ. Hær.* p. 95.

[b] Ἔφη ἄλλον εἶναι Θεὸν τὸν παλαίον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,—ἄλλον δὲ τὸν τοῦ παντὸς ποιητὴν, —— καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι δίκαιον, τὸν δὲ ἀγαθόν. *Epit. Hæret. Fabul. in Hær. Cerdon.* p. 93.

[c] Ἐκ τοῦ Σίμωνος ἐξαπάτης ἔλαβον τὰς βλασφημίας ἀφορμάς. *Ibid.*

[d] Στέλλεται τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς τοὺς χρόνους τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὡς ἔνθεν ὁρμᾶσθαι ποιούμενον τὸν λόγον πρὸς τοὺς τὰ πρὸς μοναρχίας κεκυτληκότας, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ κτισμάτων· ὁ δὲ τάλας ἀνελθὼν, ἀντιβάλλειν ἤρξατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐκεῖσε πρεσβυτέρους, &c. *Adverſ. Hæreſ. Manich.* p. 267.

This blaſphemous Hereſy then being ſo early eſpouſed from the very Apoſto-

lical Age, the belief of *One* God was inſerted in the Creed in oppoſition thereunto, as it may be gathered from *Irenæus*; who, after he hath recited the Hereſies of the *Valentinians*, and others, informs us in contradiction thereunto, That [a] *the Church had received from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples, to believe in one God, the Father Almighty, &c.* And in various places, throughout his whole five Books, he confutes the *Marcionites* Dotage of two Gods, ſhewing it to be not only inconſiſtent with Reaſon, and oppoſite unto the Scripture, but alſo contradictory to the Faith and Belief of the Church; whence *Epiphanius* in his large Expoſition of the Creed, in oppoſition to the foreſaid Hereticks, tells us, that by this Clauſe we are obliged to believe, [b] *That there is but one God, who was the God both of the Law and the Goſpel, both of the Old and New Teſtament.*

[a] Ἡ μὲν ἐκκλησία παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων μαθητῶν παραλαβοῦσα τὸ εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα πίστιν. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 2. p. 35.

[b] Ὅτι Θεὸς εἷς ἡμῖν ὁ ἐν νόμῳ καὶ ἐν προφήταις, καὶ ἐν εὐαγγελίοις καὶ ἐν ἀποστόλοις, ὁ παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης κεκήρυκται. *Adverſ. Hær. lib.* 3. *Compend. Fid. Cath.* p. 464.

And *Tertullian* in his Preſcriptions againſt the *Valentinians*, *Marcionites*, and other Hereticks, ſends them [c] *to the Rule of Faith, wherein it is profeſſed, that there is but one God:* And, that I may

[c] Regula eſt autem fidei,—quâ creditur,—unum omnino Deum eſſe.

may add yet one inſtance more, it is very obſervable in the *Dialogues* of *Origen*, that when *Adamantius*, who ſuſtained the part of an orthodox Chriſtian againſt the *Marcionites*, was by agreement firſt of all to recite the Catholick Faith, which he would defend in contradiction to the forementioned Hereticks; he begins his Creed with, [a] *I believe there is but one God*; and when one of the *Marcionites* laboured hard to prove his three, and the other his two Gods, *Adamantius* ſo invincibly evidenced the Unity of the Godhead, that *Eutropius* the Judge of the Diſputation, declared the Victory to be on his ſide; and when in the end of the laſt *Dialogue* he repeats the Articles of the true Chriſtian Faith, he begins it with the Belief of [b] *One and only God*; which makes it very probable, that this Clauſe in the Creed of *One God*, was in part deſigned to contradict the blaſphemous and impious conceit of thoſe Hereticks, who introduced more Gods than one. But, *Secondly*, This Clauſe may be alſo conſidered in relation to what immediately follows in the Creed, *viz. the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth*; in which regard it is a Declaration, that we believe this *One* God, and not a Being

[a] Ἕνα Θεὸν—εἶναι πεπίςδυκα. *Dial.* 1. p. 3.

[b] Ἕνα καὶ μόνον Θεὸν. *Dialog.* 5. p. 158.

different from him, to be the *Father*, and *Almighty Creator* of all things; for though ſome Hereticks owned one ſupreme and original God, yet they denied him the Creation of the World, and his Paternity and Almightineſs in that Catholick Senſe, wherein it is to be underſtood in the Creed; and thoſe other Hereticks, who blaſphemed the Unity of the Godhead, contented not themſelves with that, but dared to deveſt our true and only God, whom they called their kind and merciful One, of one of the greateſt Acts of his Power, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs, even the making of Heaven and Earth; whereby they totally deſtroyed one of the moſt obliging Relations we ſtand in to God, which is that of a Creature to his Creator.

Who thoſe Hereticks were, with the particulars of their ſeveral Hereſies, ſhall be conſidered under thoſe reſpective Terms predicated concerning God in the Creed, as they preſent themſelves to our obſervation in their ſeveral order: There is nothing farther neceſſary in this place, than to ſhew, that this was in part the intended ſenſe of this Clauſe of the Creed; for the Proof whereof, innumerable Paſſages might be produced

produced from the Writings of *Irenæus*; as in both his Creeds, which he oppoſes to all theſe kinds of Hereticks, he expreſſes this Article, by believing [a] *in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth*; and contrary to the delirious Fancies of thoſe Atheiſtical Wits, affirms, that the whole Church of God throughout the World, [b] *received one and the ſame God the Father*; and that [c] *the univerſal Church received this by Tradition from the Apoſtles, that there was but one God, the maker of Heaven and Earth.*

[a] Εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Παλέρα παντοκράτορα τ̃ πεποιηκότα τ̃ οὐρανὸν καὶ τ̃ γ̃ν. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 2. p. 35. In unum Deum fabricatorem cœli ac terræ. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 4. p. 172.

[b] Unum & eundem Deum Patrem recipientibus. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 17. p. 341.

[c] Unum Deum fabricatorem cœli ac terræ, — Eccleſia omnis — hanc accepit ab Apoſtolis Traditionem. *Lib.* 2. *c.* 9. p. 107.

This Clauſe is likewiſe ſo expreſſed in two of *Tertullian*'s Creeds, as that the condemnation of theſe various Hereticks appears moſt evidently to have been deſigned thereby; in one of them it is ſaid, that [d] *by the Rule of Faith we muſt believe, that there is but One only God, and that there is no other beſides the Creator of the World*; and in the other, that we muſt thereby be-

[d] Regula eſt autem fidei, — quâ creditur unum omnino Deum eſſe, nec alium præter mundi Creatorem. *De Præſcript. adv. Hæret.* p. 73.

lieve [a] *in the only God Almighty, the framer of the World.* The ſame alſo may be obſerved concerning the ſeveral Creeds of *Origen*; in one of which, our Faith is declared to be in [b] *One God, who created and diſpoſed all things, and made thoſe things that are, out of things that were not:* And in that Creed, wherein *Adamantius* profeſſed the Catholick Faith in oppoſition to the erroneous Tenets of the *Marcionites*, he begins it with, [c] *I believe in one God, the very Creator and Maker of all things:* And ſo *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* [d] explains the Unity of the Godhead, in contradiction to the Hereſy of the *Simonians*, *Carpocratians*, *Marcionites*, and others, who made two Gods, one a good God, and the other a juſt God; and in another place, where he repeats and explains the Creed, he thus explains the Unity of God, [e] *That he is both good and juſt; ſo that if we ſhould hear any heretical Perſon ſay, that the juſt God is one, and the good God another, we ſhould remember*

[a] In unicum Deum omnipotentem, Mundi conditorem. *De Virgin. Veland.* p. 385.

[b] Ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ τὰ πάντα κτίσας καὶ καταρτίσας, καὶ ποιήσας ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι τὰ πάντα. *Vol.* 2. *Com. in Johan. Tom.* 32. p. 397.

[c] Ἕνα Θεὸν καὶ κτίστην καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἁπάντων εἶναι πεπίστευκα. *Dialog.* 1. p. 3.

[d] *Catech.* 6. p. 53, &c.

[e] Ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος· ἵνα ἐὰν πού τις αἱρετικὸς λέγοντος αἱρετικοῦ ἄλλον εἶναι τὸν δίκαιον, καὶ ἄλλον εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν, εὐθὺς ὑπομνησθεὶς γνῶς τὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως ἰοβόλον τολμήσαντος ἀσεβῶς τὸν ἕνα Θεὸν διαχωρίσαι τῷ λόγῳ. *Catech.* 4. p. 24.

member it to be a venemous Hereſy, daring wickedly to divide the one God.

From all which it is moſt apparent, that the intended deſign of this Clauſe of *One God*, was in part to declare, that whatſoever is immediately predicated concerning God, in the ſubſequent part of the Creed, related to one and the ſame God; that one and the ſame divine Being, was *the Father Almighty, maker of Heaven and Earth*; that all things had their Spring and Original, Form and Shape, from one and the ſame divine Eſſence, who was the *One* and only God, ſo *One* as that there is none other beſides him, and like unto whoſe Unity there is nothing to be found in the whole World, whereby it may be repreſented or expreſſed.

After the Exiſtence and Unity of God, there follows next in the Creed, that relation wherein he ſtands to us as our *Father*, as he is the Author, Cauſe, and Origine of all Beings. The reaſon whereof is moſt probably to be fetched from the *Gnoſticks*, and the other Hereticks of the firſt Ages, who denied God's Paternity in this reſpect, by diſowning him to have been the Creator and Producer of the World, and of the various Creatures therein; and in an agreeableneſs thereunto did avowedly refuſe

fuſe to attribute unto God this very Title or Appellation of *Father*, acting therein far worſe than the *Heathens*, who by the glimmering Light of Nature had conceived of God under this Notion, that he was the *Pater omnipotens*, Πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, and as ſuch had reverenc'd and ador'd him; for the Proof whereof, the ſingle Teſtimony of *Lactantius* ſhall ſuffice, who writes, That [a] *every God in the Worſhip and Prayers directed to him, was of neceſſity called Father, not only for Honour's ſake, but for Reaſon's alſo, becauſe he is ancienter than Man, and as a Father, gave him his Life, Health, and Food*; *and that therefore*, Jupiter, *and* Saturn, *and* Janus, *and* Bacchus, *with the reſt of the Gods, were each of them called Father.* For which he cites theſe Verſes of *Lucilius:*

Vt nemo ſit noſtrum, quin Pater optimus divûm.
Vt Neptunus Pater, Liber, Saturnus Pater, Mars,
Janus, Quirinus, Pater nomen dicatur ad unum.

[a] Omnem Deum, — neceſſe eſt inter ſolennes ritus & precationes Patrem nuncupari, non tantùm honoris gratiâ, verùm etiam rationis; quod & antiquior eſt homine; & quod vitam, ſalutem, victum præſtat, ut Pater. Itaque ut Jupiter à precantibus Pater vocatur, & Saturnus, & Janus, & Liber, & cæteri deinceps; quòd Lucilius in deorum concilio irridet. Ut nemo ſit noſtrum, &c. *Inſtitut. lib.* 4. *c.* 3. p. 352.

The

The notion or ſignification of a Father is ſo well known, as that it may be needleſs to ſay, that in its proper and reſtrained ſenſe, it denotes ſuch an one as communicates Life and Being to another, Generation being the Foundation of Paternity; and that more largely and comprehenſively, it ſignifies ſuch an one as confers Kindneſſes, Favours, and Benefits upon another; every one knows, according to the forementioned Citation from *Lactantius*, that he is a *Father* who gives Life, Health and Food, to another: But now, ſuch an one the *Gnoſticks* had the wickedneſs to deny God to be. How in this reſpect they blaſphemed the divine Majeſty, I ſhall more particularly relate and prove, when I come to that Article of *Maker of Heaven and Earth*, unto which this word thus conſidered, hath a nearneſs and affinity; in this place it ſhall be ſufficient to remark in general, that the *Gnoſticks* and *Valentinians* imagined the ſupreme and omnipotent God to live within circumſcribed Limits, in an unactive, and idle Reſt and Eaſe, whilſt they feigned an inferiour Deity to be the Creator of the World, the Author of every Being thereof, and of every Gift neceſſary and ſuitable thereunto, unto whom therefore

fore they gave this Title of *Father*; which, in this Acceptation, is alone communicable to the ſupreme and infinite Majeſty, calling this fancied Maker of the World, [a] *Father and King of all, Father and God,* [b] *Creator of the World, and Father*; thereby making themſelves guilty of the laſt and greateſt Blaſphemy. Wherefore, to declare the true Chriſtian's abhorrence of ſuch an odious Crime, *Irenæus* in his oppoſition thereunto, doth generally underſtand by God's being the Father, his being the Fountain, Source, Producer, and Creator of all other Beings whatſoever; and therefore, after he hath revealed at large this Myſtery of Iniquity, this portentous and horrid Imagination of the *Gnoſticks*, he immediately repeats as a proper Antidote, againſt the Infection thereof, the Apoſtles Creed, by which we are obliged to believe in God [c] *the Father*; and having in his whole firſt Book, related the extravagant Fancies of theſe wild and diſtracted Brains, and their blaſphemous Denials of God to have been the Author and Creator of the World, and of all things therein, he informs us in the beginning of his ſecond Book, he intended to prove therein,

[a] Τὸν Παλέρα, βασιλέα πάντων, —— Παλέρα ϗ Θεὸν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν. *Iren. lib.* 1. *c.* 1. p. 16.

[b] Δημιυργὸν αὐτὸν ϗ Παλέρα καλοῦσι. *Id. ibid.*

[c] Παλέρα. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 2. p. 35.

therein, that the true and ſupreme God was the [a] *alone Creator, and the alone Father.*

[a] Solus Conditor, & ſolus Pater. *Lib.* 2. *c.* 1. p. 95.

But, there may be alſo another ſort of *Paternity* included in the Creed, *viz.* the peculiar relation wherein God ſtands to his Son, that he is his Father, that he hath begotten him; the manner whereof is peculiar, eminent and ineffable, and is not only impoſſible to be explicated by us, but ſuch an Attempt would be both perillous and arrogant: For, *Who can ſearch out God to perfection? Secret things belong unto God, but revealed things unto us and our Children.* Wherefore, waving all Searches or Inquiries into the manner or nature thereof, and reſerving what I have farther to ſay on this Point, till I come to the Generation of the Son, contained in that Article, *His only Son*, I ſhall only in this place endeavour to prove, that this Article was underſtood in this ſenſe by the Primitive Church, and as ſuch hath obtained a place in the Creed.

St. *Auſtin* thus explains it; [b] *Obſerve*, ſaith he, *that when in the Creed the*

[b] Advertite quòd cùm Dei Patris nomen in confeſſione conjungit, oſtendit quòd non antè Deus eſſe cœpit, & poſtea pater, ſed ſine ullo initio & Deus ſemper & Pater: Patrem autem cùm audis, agnoſce quod habet Filium veraciter genitum, quomodo poſſeſſor dicitur, qui aliquid poſſidet, & Dominus qui alicui dominatur: Deus ergo Pater ſecreti Sacramenti vocabulum eſt: cujus verè Filius eſt Verbum. *Serm. de Temp. Serm.* 181. p. 525.

Name

Name of God the Father is conjoined, it is thereby declared, that he was not firſt of all a God, and afterwards a Father; but without any beginning, he is always both God and Father: When thou heareſt the word Father, acknowledge that he hath a Son truly born, as he is called a Poſſeſſor who poſſeſſeth any thing, and a Governour who governs any thing: So God the Father is a Term of a ſecret Myſtery, whoſe true Son is the Word. To the ſame effect likewiſe, *Ruffinus* thus writes in his Explication of this Article,

[a] *When thou heareſt the Title Father, underſtand that he hath a Son, who is the Image of his Subſtance; for, as no Man is called a Lord, unleſs he hath a Servant, or a Poſſeſſion, whom he lords it over; and no one is called a Maſter, except he hath a Scholar; ſo no one can in any manner be called a Father, unleſs he hath a Son: By this Name therefore by which God is called a Father, the Son is alſo demonſtrated to ſubſiſt likewiſe with him.* The ſame Expoſition is alſo given by *Petrus Chryſologus*,

[a] Patrem cùm audis, Filii intellige Patrem, qui Filius ſupradictæ ſit Imago ſubſtantiæ. Sicut enim nemo dicitur Dominus, niſi habeat vel Poſſeſſionem vel Servum cui dominetur, & ſicut nemo Magiſter dicitur, niſi diſcipulum habeat: Ita & Pater nullo pacto quis dici poteſt, niſi Filium habens. Hoc ergo ipſo nomine quo Deus Pater appellatur, cum Patre pariter ſubſiſtere etiam Filius demonſtratur. *Expoſit. in Symb. Apoſt.* §. 4. p. 566.

ſologus, *Maximus Taurinenſis*; and in a word, almoſt by all others, who have had occaſion to mention this Subject; and eſpecially, ſince the appearance of the *Sabellian* and *Arian* Hereſies, this Interpretation hath been more largely inſiſted upon, and more curiouſly explained.

The next word to be explained, is, *Almighty*, I believe in God the Father *Almighty*; the *Greek* word whereof is Παντοκράτωρ, which properly ſignifies the univerſal Dominion of God over all his Creatures, and his providential Regency and Gubernation of them; in which ſenſe it is only in part to be unſtood in the Creed, and together with that to be enlarged to ſome other ſignifications of the Word, which were denied and oppoſed by ſome primitive Hereſiarchs.

In the firſt place therefore, this term *Almighty* may be conſidered as a Declaration of God's infinite Power and Energy, by which he made the World of nothing, without the aſſiſtance of Angels, or any other help whatſoever; that his Might and Force is ſo great, that as he needed not any coexiſtent Matter, whereon to ſhew the Efficacy and Operation thereof, but created all things of nothing; ſo neither did he lack the

the assistance of Angels, or of any other Principle whatsoever, to assist him in that which next follows in the Creed, *viz. the making of Heaven and Earth:* which by the way, shews us a good reason, why the word *Almighty* is placed before the Creation of the World in our Rule of Faith; for if it had only signified God's Dominion and Providence, its proper Order would have been after the *making of Heaven and Earth*, the subject about which it is exercised: But, seeing it also signifies the Omnipotency and irresistible Efficacy of his Power, by which he could form and produce all Creatures without any previous Matter, as also without the help of Angels, or any other Being, the present Order of the Creed seems to be most natural and unconstrained, that the profession of God's Almightiness should precede the first and great Demonstration thereof, *viz. the making of Heaven and Earth.*

Now that this was in part the designed sense of this word, I shall evince, after I have shewn, who those Hereticks, and what their Heresies were, which gave an occasion hereunto. Concerning the *Valentinians*, it hath been already proved, that some of them affirmed Matter to have been coeternal with

with God; out of which confuſed Heap, he produced the World in the ſame order and regularity wherein it now is: And others of them, with ſeveral Diviſions and Subdiviſions of the *Gnoſticks*, although they allowed not Matter to have been coeval with the firſt and original God, yet they affirmed its coexiſtency with, and even pre-exiſtency to that petty inferiour God, whom they conſtituted the Creator of the World, imagining a moſt ſenſleſs and almoſt unintelligible manner, in which this ſtupendous and admirable Fabrick was erected and raiſed; a clear and full relation whereof will yield a great Light into the intended ſenſe of this and the following Clauſe of the Creed: under which latter Clauſe, I intend to give a ſuccinct Account thereof; and at preſent ſhall only touch on ſo much as is neceſſary for the Explication of the Point before us.

We muſt know then, that theſe monſtrous Hereticks, in imitation of *Heſiod*'s Pagan *Theogony*, imagined a Copulation of thirty *Aions*, as they termed them; fifteen of which were Male, and fifteen Female, begotten and generated one from another; twenty eight whereof, either mediately or immediately, proceeded from *Bythus*, or *Depth*, the Origine and firſt Principle of all; and his Wife

Sige, or *Charis*, that is *Silence*, or *Grace*. Theſe thirty *Aions* they fancied to lead an idle and unactive Life, within an imaginary Space, *Pleroma*, or Fulneſs; and that *Sophia*, the laſt of the Female Ones, being not able to accompliſh a paſſionate and affectionate Deſire which ſhe had, brought forth an inform Matter, called *Achamoth*, which was thrown out of the *Pleroma*, from whoſe Tears, Laughter, Sorrow and Fear, proceeded the Subſtance and Foundation of all animal and material Beings; under which, they included the Creator himſelf, and the Matter by which he effected the work of Creation.

Now this ridiculous and monſtrous Opinion, was an impious Reflection on the Power of God, as though he had not Strength ſufficient to prepare Matter himſelf for his Works of Creation, as well as to create his Works out of Matter provided to his Hands in another way and manner; it is both [a] *impious and fooliſh*, as *Irenæus* writes, *not to believe, that God could by his own*

[a] Deum — impiè contemnunt, — non credentes, quoniam Deus ex his quæ non erant, quemadmodum voluit, ea quæ facta ſunt ut eſſent omnia, fecit ſuâ voluntate,—quod enim dicunt ex lacrymis Achamoth humectam prodiſſe ſubſtantiam, &c. quomodo hæc non digna irriſione, & verè ridicula? Qui non credunt quidem, quoniam ipſam materiam, cùm ſit potens & dives in omnibus Deus, creavit, neſcientes quantum poteſt ſpiritalis & divina Subſtantia. *Lib.* 2. *c.* 10. p. 108.

Will,

Will, make thoſe things that are, out of thoſe that were not; and to aſcribe the ſubſtance of Matter to the Tears, Laughter, Sorrow, and Fear of an unintelligible and imaginary Achamoth: *And being ignorant of the Power of a ſpiritual and divine Subſtance, not to believe that God who is ſtrong and rich in all things, created Matter it ſelf.*

But, beſides theſe forementioned Hereticks, there were alſo others who derogated from the omnipotent Power of God, by aſcribing the Creation of the World unto Angels; as did the Followers of [a] *Simon Magus*, the [b] *Menandrians*, [c] *Saturnilians*, [d] *Baſilidians*, [e] *Carpocratians*, and others, who all combined in this Degradation of the Almighty, and the taking from him the Glory of this firſt manifeſtation of his Power and Godhead, in creating and framing this ſtupendous Fabrick of the Univerſe.

[a] Simone Mago dicente mundum ab Angelis factum. *Iren. lib.* 2. *c.* 9. p. 107.

[b] Ἔλεγε ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸν κοσμὸν γενόμενον ὑπ' ἀγγέλων. *Epiph. cont. Har. Menand.* p. 32.

[c] A ſeptem quibuſdam Angelis mundum factum. *Iren. lib.* 1. *c.* 22. p. 77.

[d] Ἀγγέλους δημιουργῆσαι τὸν κόσμον. *Theodoret. Epit. Har. Fabul. in Har. Baſilid.* p. 96.

[e] Ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων τὸν κλίσιν ἔφησε γεγονέναι, *Id. ibid. in Har. Carpoc.* p. 87.

Now againſt all theſe various Hereticks and ſundry Hereſies, to declare our Belief of the omnipotent Power

and Operation of God, was this word *Almighty* partly inſerted in the Creed, whereby it is profeſſed, That as there was no eternal Subſtance or Matter antecedent to the Creation of the World, from whence it ſhould be formed and taken, ſo God needed it not for that end; neither ſtood he in any want of the help and ſtrength of Angels, or others, to effect ſo glorious a Work; but was infinitely able, and ſufficient of himſelf, to produce that and Ten thouſand times more, if it had pleaſed him ſo to do.

In which ſenſe, it is expounded by the Author of the Second Explication of the Creed to the *Catechumens*, extant amongſt the Works of St. *Auſtin*; [a] *We believe God*, ſaith he, *to be Almighty, who making all things, is not made himſelf; and therefore he is Almighty, becauſe he made of nothing whatſoever is made; for no Matter helped him, on which he ſhould ſhew the Power of his Workmanſhip, but he created all things of nothing: for this is to be Almighty, that not only the Fabrick it ſelf, but alſo*

[a] Omnipotentem Deum credimus, qui omnia faciens factus non eſt, & ideo omnipotens eſt, quia de nihilo fecit quæcunque fecit: non enim cum aliqua materies adjuvit, ex quâ demonſtraret artis ſuæ potentiam, ſed ex nihilo cuncta creavit, hoc eſt enim eſſe omnipotentem, ut non ſolùm fabrica ipſa, ſed etiam materies ab illo inveniatur eſſe, qui non habuit initium. *Tom.* 9. *de Symb. ad Catech. lib.* 2. p. 1395.

alſo the Matter thereof be found by him, who had no beginning. And when *Eutropius*, the Judge of the Diſputation in the *Dialogues* of *Origen*, ſums up the Catholick Faith, he applies this term *Almighty*, not only to God's providential Government of the World, but alſo to his infinite Power in the making thereof, without the Aids of [a] *any Matter coexiſtent with them.*

[a] ὧ ἐκ ὕλη συγχεῶ. *Dial.* p. 159.

Irenæus bewails, that the *Gnoſticks* and *Valentinians* did by their Craft and Subtilty draw away thoſe from the Truth, [b] *who did not keep a firm Faith in One God the Father Almighty:* Wherefore, as a preſervative againſt their Infection, he adviſeth his Reader firmly to adhere unto the Creed, believed by the Univerſal Church, and received from the Apoſtles; which Creed, ſaith he, obliges us to profeſs, that [c] *God is Almighty, who made all things, not by Angels, or any other Powers; for he needeth none of theſe things, but by his Word and Spirit he compleated and perfected them.* And in ſeveral other places, in oppoſition to the forementioned Hereſies, he writes,

[b] Τὰς μὴ ἰδεαίαν τ῀ πίστιν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Παλέρα παντοκράτορα— διαφυλάσσοντας. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 1. p. 12.

[c] Deus omnipotens qui omnia condidit,—non per Angelos, neque per virtutes aliquas abſciſſas ab ejus ſententiâ, nihil enim indiget omnium Deus, ſed per Verbum & Spiritum ſuum omnia faciens & diſponens. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 19. p. 74.

That [d] *the Angels did not make us, nor any Power inferior to the Father of all: for God wanted none of theſe, to effect what he had before determined with himſelf to do, as if he had no hands of his own; for the Son and Spirit were always preſent with him, by whom and in whom he did all things freely and ſpontaneouſly.* So that, from all theſe Citations it is moſt evident, that this word *Almighty* in the Creed, doth in part denote the infinite Power and Energy of God, whereby he was able without the aſſiſtance of any other, to create the World, and to have done whatſoever elſe had pleaſed him.

[d] Non Angeli fecerunt nos,— nec virtus longè abſiſtens à Patre univerſorum. Nec enim indigebat horum Deus, ad faciendum quæ ipſe apud ſe præfinierat fieri, quaſi ipſe ſuas non haberet manus. Adeſt enim ei ſemper Verbum,— & Spiritus, per quos & in quibus omnia liberè & ſpontè fecit. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 37. p. 266.

But, *Secondly*, It alſo ſignifies God's univerſal, abſolute, and ſovereign Dominion over all Things and Perſons, and his providential Regency and Gubernation of them all, according to the counſel of his Will, for his own Praiſe and Glory. This indeed is the primary Notion of the *Greek* word Παντοκράτωρ, which hath a reſpect to governing and ruling, and is thus explained by *Ruffinus*, who writes, that in the Creed God

God is [a] *called Almighty, becauſe he hath Dominion over all:* And to the ſame effect *Salvian* affirms, That we muſt believe, [b] *according to the Rule of Faith, that God rules all things:* And ſo *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* applies this term *Almighty* [c] to God's providential Power, whereby he governs and rules all Perſons and Things whatever. Now this Aſſertion of God's providential Regency of the World, and of all Affairs therein, ſeems to be levelled and intended againſt the *Gnoſticks* and *Marcionites*; both of whom refuſed to own, that God concerned himſelf with the Management and Direction of the World; and the former of them at leaſt arrived to that pitch of Blaſphemy, as to attribute unto another Being this very Title of *Almighty*, conſidered under this Notion of Rule and Authority; for of theſe *Gnoſticks* the venerable *Irenæus* aſſures us, That whilſt they confined the ſupreme and eternal God within a certain and imaginary Space, circumſcrib'd by Bounds and Limits, and placed the Maker of the World (whom they ſuppoſed a diſtinct Being from the true and only God) in a ſeventh Heaven of their own framing

[a] Omnipotens autem ab eo dicitur, quòd omnium teneat potentatum. *Expoſ. in Symb.* §. 7. p. 566.

[b] Secundùm veritatis regulam, —quòd Deus omnia regeret. *De Gubern. Dei, lib.* 1. p. 12.

[c] *Catech.* 8. p. 72, 73, 74.

framing and imagination, they allotted this inferiour World, the Seat of Mankind, to be the Habitation of the Devil, wherein he governs and tyrannizes; for which reaſon, they called him [a] *Coſmocrator*, or *the Governour of the World*; and *Pantocrator*, which is the very word *Almighty* aſcribed to God in the Creed. Or, if ſome of them were not arrived to that degree of Impiety, as to place the Government of the World in the Hands of the Devil, yet the beſt of them refuſed to lodge it with the one only independent, and ſelf-exiſtent God, but appropriated it to that other ſubordinate Deity, whom they fancied to be the Creator of the Univerſe; and unto whom for this reaſon, they attributed the very word [b] *Almighty*, which is in the Creed. As for the true and ſupreme God, they confined him within their feigned Plenitude, imagining him there to live in Eaſe and Quiet, in Reſt and Silence; that as he did not make the World, ſo neither was he in any manner concerned about the guidance and direction thereof; therein agreeing, as *Irenæus* obſerves, [c] *with the* Epicureans; *and* [d] *being full with the Spirit of the Devil, they invented*

[a] Διάβολον ὃν καὶ κοσμοκράτορα καλεῖσι—παντοκράτορα. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 1. p. 18.

[b] Παντοκράτορα τὸν ὑποκειμένων. *Iren. l.* 1. *c.* 5. p. 40.

[c] Epicuri invenientes Deum, neque ſibi neque aliis præſtantem. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 41. p. 227.

[d] Diabolico ſpiritu pleni,—alterum quendam excogitant Patrem, neque curantem neque providentem eorum quæ ſunt erga nos. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 21. p. 350.

vented a Father, neither taking care, nor providing about thoſe things that relate unto us.

And as for the *Marcionites*, they did not only, as it hath been already related, introduce two eternal Cauſes, God and the Devil, and aſcribe the Creation of the World unto the latter; but they alſo attributed the Rule and Government thereof unto him, calling him for that reaſon, as *Irenæus* informs us, [a] *Coſmocrator*, or *the Ruler of the World:* whereas, as the ſaid Father excellently well proves in oppoſition thereunto, [b] the Devil hath no natural and lawful Authority over Man, the chief Inhabitant of this inferiour World, and the principal Subject of Divine Providence here below; that whatſoever Dominion he hath, it is all uſurped, obtained through that Apoſtaſy and Rebellion into which he drew Mankind with himſelf; that the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* hath undertaken for the reſcue and delivery of human Nature, and in that Nature he hath in his own Perſon already conquered and ſubdued the Devil, wreſting his unjuſt Power and Dominion from him; and that in his own appointed time, he will enable all his Members to do the ſame, to tread down

[a] Quem & Coſmocratorem dicit. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 29. p. 82.

[b] *Lib.* 5. *c.* 18, 19, 20. *à* p. 427. *ad* p. 431. *Ed. Grab.*

down Satan under their Feet, perſonally and particularly for themſelves.

That which gave occaſion to this and other Hereſies of the like nature, was their ſetting up an odd and incomprehenſible Notion of Good and Evil: for they imagining, Bonity and Pravity not to be Affections or Qualities of Beings, but Beings themſelves; that all Natures were ſubſtantially Evil, or ſubſtantially Good; and conſequently, apprehending the Neceſſity of an Origine or Maker ſuitable to theſe different Eſſences, they introduced two eternal Cauſes, God and the Devil; the one eſſentially Good, Author of all created Good, and the Governour and Ruler thereof; the other eſſentially Evil, Author of all created Evil, and the Governour and Ruler thereof: ſo that not only the Creation, but alſo the Providence of God was blaſphemed by theſe *Marcionites*, in allotting unto the Devil the Rule and Government of this inferiour World, at leaſt of the greateſt part thereof; which latter words I add, becauſe thoſe of them who maintained three eternal Principles, allowed unto the ſupreme God ſince the promulgation of the Goſpel, the Conduct and Gubernation of the *Chriſtians*: As when *Megethius*, a *Marcionite* of this Sect, affirmed,

firmed, That *there were three Principles*; *Adamantius* replied unto him, that according to his apprehenſion, the word Ἀρχὴ, or Principle, came from διὰ τὸ ἄρχειν τινὸς, from a Perſon's ruling and governing; and therefore *he would willingly know of him, over whom theſe three Principles did preſide:* Unto which *Megethius* anſwers, That [a] *the good Principle rules the* Chriſtians, *the Maker of the World the* Jews, *and the evil Principle, the* Heathens. So that even this Sect of thoſe Hereticks, who acknowledged ſome part of God's Dominion and Providence, did ſo far blaſpheme it, as that they made the Extent thereof very narrow and inconſiderable, much beneath what the Scripture ſaith of it; That [b] *his Kingdom ruleth over all*; that not only the [c] *Heavens, but the Earth alſo is his,* [d] *with the Fulneſs thereof, the World, and they that dwell therein.* Wherefore, in the *Dialogues* of *Origen*, after *Eutropius* had fully heard the Diſputation between the Orthodox *Chriſtian*, and the two *Marcionites*, he adjudges the Victory to the former, and ratifies his Confeſſion of Faith, That there

[a] Ἡ μὲν ἀγαθὴ ἀρχὴ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἄρχειν· ἡ δὲ δημιουργικὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἡ δὲ πονηρὰ τῶν ἐθνικῶν. *Origen. Dial.* 1. p. 4.

[b] Pſal. ciii. 19.

[c] Pſal. lxxxix. 11.

[d] Pſal. xxiv. 1.

there was but One God, [a] *who ruleth over all, whom nothing can oppoſe, and unto whoſe Will nothing can reſiſt:* And where he again repeats the ſubſtance of the Creed, he explains God's Almightineſs, by [b] *all things being ſubject unto him*; which, with what hath been ſaid before, ſufficiently proves, that this Epithet of Almighty in the Creed includes, in oppoſition to the *Gnoſticks* and *Marcionites*, the Dominion, Rule and Authority of the One only God, and his providential Diſpoſal of all Affairs and Events in the World.

[a] Ὁς πάντων κρατεῖ, ᾧ ἀνθίκειται οὐδὲν, ὃ τῇ βουλῇ οὐδὲν ἀνθέστηκεν. *Dial.* 2. p. 69.

[b] ᾧ τὰ πάντα ὑποτέτακται. *Dial.* 5. p. 159.

But, *Thirdly*, There is yet another Interpretation of this word *Almighty*, which is, that it ſignifies God's Immenſity, Infiniteneſs, or Omnipreſency; that he is every where, and in every place; that he contains all things, and is himſelf contained of none; that he is Immeaſurable, Incircumſcriptible, without Bounds or Limits, which was alſo deſigned againſt the *Gnoſticks*; for theſe monſtrous and abominable Blaſphemers ſuppoſed a certain Space or Plenitude, called in *Greek Pleroma*, far above this inferiour World, bounded by a certain Being called *Horos*; or that I may ſpeak it in plain *Engliſh*, terminated and environed

vironed by a Circle, within the Sides whereof the ſupreme and incomprehenſible God was contained, and never came out from thence to take notice of the Affairs of this lower Region, but ſatisfied himſelf in Reſt and Silence with the other *Aions*, in thoſe vaſt and ineffable Spaces limited by that Circle which did encompaſs it. Such baſe and contemptible Thoughts did theſe deluded Wretches entertain concerning the Divine Majeſty, whoſe Greatneſs is incomprehenſible, his Being infinite, and Eſſence unmeaſurable, who [a] *hath meaſured the Waters in the hollow of his Hand, and meted out Heaven with his Span, and comprehends the Duſt of the Earth in a Meaſure*; who, as *Irenæus* writes, [b] *fills both Heaven and Hell, and is with every one of us*. Whoſoever would ſee any more of this blaſphemous Frenzy, with a ſolid Confutation thereof, he may find enough of it in the five Books of *Irenæus*, and particularly in the places quoted in the [c] Margin.

[a] Iſa. xl. 12.

[b] Ipſe eſt qui cœlos implet, & perſpicit abyſſos, qui eſt etiam cum unoquoque noſtrûm. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 36. p. 265.

[c] *Lib.* 2. *c.* 1. & 4. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 36.

But that which is pertinent to the Matter in hand, is, that the Fathers levelled this Clauſe of God's *Almightineſs* in the Creed, againſt this impious Hereſy; and therefore we find that *Adamantius*

damantius an orthodox *Chriſtian*, ſuſpecting probably *Marinus* a *Bardeſianiſt*, to incline to theſe *Gnoſtical* Dotages, asked him, [a] *Doſt thou acknowledge God to be Almighty, or no?* Unto which, when *Marinus* anſwers, *I ſay that he is Almighty*, *Adamantius* immediately replies as an Explication of the former Queſtion, that he might prevent all equivocating Evaſions; *Doth he contain all things? or, is he contained himſelf?* Underſtanding the word *Pantocrator*, uſed in this part of the Creed for *Almighty*, to have reference to the infiniteneſs and boundleſneſs of God's Nature, that he comprehends all things, and is not comprehended or limited by any thing himſelf. And ſo *Cyril of Jeruſalem* paraphraſes this part of the Creed, [b] *That God is not circumſcribed in any place, neither is he leſs than the Heaven, but the Heavens are the Works of his Fingers, and the whole Earth is comprehended in his Fiſt; He is in all, and out of all.* And unto this Interpretation of the word, the very Derivation

[a] Ἀ Δ Α Μ. Παντοκράτορα φῂς τὸν Θεὸν, ἢ ὄ; Μ Α Ρ. Παντοκράτορά φημι. Α Δ Α Μ. Περιέχει τὰ πάντα, ἢ περιέχεται. *Orig. Dial.* 3. p. 83.

[b] Οὐ περιγέγραπται ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ οὐδὲ ἔστι μικρότερος ὑρανοῦ ἀλλ' ἔρεισα τῆ δακτύλων αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν οἱ ὑρανοὶ, καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐν τῇ δρακὶ αὐτοῦ κατέχεται, ὅτι ἐν πᾶσιν ἐστὶ καὶ πάντων ἐκτὸς. *Catech.* 4. p. 25.

rivation thereof, it being from παρὰ τὸ πάντα κρατεῖν, doth alſo direct us, as well as unto God's providential Diſpoſal and Government; of which I have already ſpoken; for κρατέω ſignifies not only to rule and govern, but alſo to contain and comprehend; and ſo conſequently, πάντα κρατεῖν denotes not only a governing, but alſo a comprehending of all; which was long ſince obſerved by *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Antioch*, who alledges this to be the reaſon for which God is called [a] *Almighty, becauſe he contains and comprehends all things; for the heights of Heaven, and the depths of the Abyſs, and the ends of the World, are in his Hand, and there is no place where he reſts.*

[a] Παντοκράτωρ ὴ ὅτι αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα κρατεῖ, καὶ ἐμπεριέχει, τὰ γὰρ ὕψη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τὰ βάθη τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ τόπος τῆς καταπαύσεως αὐτοῦ. *Ad Autolyc. lib.* 1. p. 71.

But, to conclude with this Subject, it appears from what hath been ſaid, That by aſſenting to this term *Almighty* in this precedent part of the Creed, it is thereby declared, that the Power of God is omnipotent, his Dominion univerſal, and his Eſſence infinite.

After the Aſſertion of God's Omnipotency, there immediately follows in the Creed, the Profeſſion of one moſt glorious and admirable Effect thereof,

viz. the Creation of the World, expreſſed in theſe words, *Maker of Heaven and Earth*; where, by *making*, we ſhall take it for granted, is meant a creating or producing of what was made out of nothing; and by *Heaven and Earth*, all Creatures whatſoever, both viſible and inviſible, according to that Saying of *Auguſtin*, That [a] *by the Name of Heaven and Earth, is ſignified every Creature that God made and created.*

[a] Cœli & terræ nomine univerſa creatura ſignificata eſt, quam fecit & condidit Deus. *Tom.* 1. *de Geneſ. cont. Manich. Lib.* 1. p. 1138.

Now that which gave occaſion to the inſerting of this Act of God's Power and Might in the Rule of Faith, was that numerous and prodigious variety of Hereticks in the moſt Primitive Days; who, though [a] *jarring and divided amongſt themſelves*, yet, *as Irenæus* obſerves, *concentred in the ſame Blaſphemy againſt God the Creator of the Univerſe:* And although they came from different Places, and ſpread different Tenets, yet that one Spirit by which they were all guided and impregnated, ſo far united them, as to deny the ſupreme God to be the Creator of the World, though

[b] Hi enim omnes quamvis ex differentibus locis egrediantur, & differentia doceant, in idem tamen blaſphemiæ concurrunt propoſitum, — docendo in Deum factorem blaſphemiam. *Iren. in Præfat. lib.* 4. p. 232.

though they could not agree amongſt themſelves, who it was that was the Cauſe thereof.

Simon Magus, the firſt Heretick, taught, That [a] *the World was made by Angels*, as did alſo his Succeſſor [b] *Menander*; *Saturninus*, or *Saturnilius*, appropriated [c] *this Work to ſeven Angels*, affirming them, and only them to have been the Creators of the World, and of Mankind therein. The *Baſilidians* dreamed, that there were ſucceſſively created one after another, three hundred and ſixty five Heavens, with their proper and peculiar Angels, [d] *The Angels of which laſt Heaven, being the ſtarry one that is viſible unto us, created this inferiour World, with the Inhabitants thereof.*

[a] Ὑπὸ ἑπτὰ ἀγγέλων δεδημιουργῆσθαι τὸν κόσμον. *Theodoret. Epit. Hær. Fab. in Hær. Simon.* p. 85.

[b] Mundum factum ab Angelis. *Iren. lib.* 1. *c.* 21. p. 77.

[c] A ſeptem quibuſdam Angelis mundum factum, & omnia quæ in eo, *Idem, lib.* 1. *c.* 22. p. 77.

[d] Τὰς δὲ τὸν ὀγδοὸν καὶ ἕκτον καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἰκουμένας ἀγγέλους δεδημιουργῆσαι τὸν κόσμον. *Theodoret. Epit. Hær. Fab. de Baſil.* p. 96.

In like manner alſo, the [e] *Carpocratians*, with ſeveral other Hereticks, attributed the Creation of the World unto Angels, thereby robbing the ſupreme and eternal Being of one of the moſt glorious Diſcoveries of his Wiſdom, Power, and Goodneſs: But, howſoever impious and fooliſh the Creation of the

[e] Τὸν δὲ κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων γενέσθαι φασί. *Epiphan. cont. Hæreſ. Carpocrat.* p. 49.

World by Angels ſeems to be, yet the way by which ſeveral of the *Gnoſticks*, and in particular the *Valentinians*, imagined it to have been produced, was far more monſtrous, ridiculous, and abominable; whoſe Hereſies having been frequently mentioned in this Chapter, I think it will not be unneceſſary to give a brief Account of them in this place, at leaſt of that part of them which relates to *God the Father Almighty*, and *his making of Heaven and Earth*; for, as for their corrupt Tenets reſpecting *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the Nature and State of Mankind, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them elſewhere.

As for what therefore concerns our preſent purpoſe, I have collected this general Idea of their portentous Syſtem from the firſt Book of *Irenæus*; unto which I refer the Reader, who deſires farther Information.

They believed, that there was an eternal, inviſible, and unbegotten [a] *Aion*, or *Æon*, the firſt of all Beings, called by them [b] *Bythos*, who lived in Reſt and Silence throughout an infinite Number of Ages; with whom exiſted *Ennœa*, or his Thought, whom they alſo called [c] *Charis* and *Sige*, which couple begat and produced two *Æons* more, [d] *Nus* and *Alethia*, the firſt a Male, the ſecond

[a] i. e. *Age.*

[b] *Depth.*

[c] *Grace and Silence.*

[d] *The Mind and the Truth.*

cond a Female; *Nus* they alſo called [a] *Monogenes*, who could alone apprehend and contain the Greatneſs of his Father *Bythos*: *Nus* and *Alethia* emitted another couple, [b] *Logos* and *Zoe*, who ſent forth two more, [c] *Anthropos* and *Eccleſia*; all which were in number eight, and conſtituted the firſt Order of the *Æons*, whom they termed the Root and Subſtance of all the reſt.

[a] *Only Begotten.*

[b] *The Word and Life.*

[c] *Man and the Church.*

After this, the two laſt couple, for the glory and praiſe of their firſt Father, emitted eleven couples more; of which, *Logos* and *Zoe* ſent forth theſe five, [d] *Bythus* and *Mixis*, *Ageratus* and *Henoſis*, *Autophues* and *Hedone*, *Acinetus* and *Syncraſis*, *Monogenes* and *Macaria*: And from *Anthropos* and *Eccleſia* proceeded theſe ſix, [e] *Paracletus* and *Piſtis*, *Patricus* and *Elpis*, *Metricus* and *Agape*, *Aeinos* and *Syneſis*, *Eccleſiaſticus* and *Macariotes*, *Theletes* and *Sophia*; which compleated the number of thirty *Æons*, or fifteen couples, the one half Male, the other Female; who were ſuppoſed by theſe extravagant Brains to copulate and beget, in the ſame man-

[d] *Depth, and Mixture, Never old, and Union; Born of himſelf, and Pleaſure; Unmovable, and Compoſition; Only begotten, and Bleſſed.*

[e] *Comforter and Faith, Fatherly and Hope, Motherly and Love; perpetual Mind, and Underſtanding; Preacher, and Bleſſedneſs; Willing and Wiſdom.*

ner that Men and Women do generate and produce their Children.

Theſe all lived within a vaſt and unconceivable Place, far diſtant from theſe lower Regions, called by them *Pleroma*, or Fulneſs, mutually enjoying and rejoicing each other, till a certain Accident, as I may ſo term it, gave ſome diſturbance to their Repoſe and Quiet; for though, as it was ſaid before, *Nus*, or *Monogenes*, was only delighted with the apprehenſion of the unmeaſurable Greatneſs of *Bythos*, the Root and Origine of them all; yet the other *Æons* alſo vehemently longed to have the ſame Happineſs of ſeeing their original Author and Producer: and eſpecially, the laſt Female *Æon* called *Sophia*, was ſo unreaſonably paſſionate to obtain her deſire of comprehending the Greatneſs of the *Propator*, or their firſt Father, that being not able to accompliſh it, through vexation and grief at the ſaid Diſappointment, ſhe brought forth an inform Matter, or ſuch a monſtrous Birth, which ſometimes happens to Women; at which ſhe was ſo affrighted, confounded and aſtoniſhed, that ſhe would have been diſſolved, or fallen out of the *Pleroma*, if *Bythos* had not in compaſſion to her, emitted a certain

certain Power called [a] *Horos*, who environed the Plenitude wherein the *Æons* dwelt, and confirmed her therein, but caſt that inform Matter therefrom into thoſe infinite Vacuities where the World was afterwards created: After which, that none of the *Æons* ſhould be any more affected as *Sophia* had been, *Monogenes* emitted another couple, unto whom they gave the Names of *Chriſt* and the *Holy Ghoſt*, by whoſe means the *Æons* being eſtabliſhed, they celebrated with great joy their *Propator*, or *Bythos*; and to his honour, every one of them brought together the beſt they had, and ſent forth *Jeſus*, whom they alſo called *the Saviour*, and [b] *Logos*, and patronymically *Chriſt*, with whom alſo they emitted the *Angels* to be his Attendants.

[a] *Limit, or Circle.*

[b] *The Word.*

All theſe precedent Affairs were tranſacted within the Plenitude, or that vaſt Space bounded by *Horos*; from whence the *Æons* never ſtirred, being always limited thereby, and confined therein: But as for that inform Matter produced by *Sophia*, and thrown by *Horos* out of the *Pleroma* into their truly imaginary Spaces, they fancied it to have been ſo far pitied and aſſiſted firſt by *Chriſt*, and afterwards by the *Saviour*,

that a ſpiritual Form, or a Form κ̓ τ̔ γνῶσιν, was given unto her; which being thus ſhaped, they called [a] *Achamoth*, whom they moſt ridiculouſly imagined, by her Tears, Laughter, Sorrow, and ſuch like things, to have emitted from her ſelf the Matter and Foundation of all thoſe animal and material Beings which were afterwards created; and that firſt of all, from her animal Subſtance ſhe formed the great Father and Maker of all inferiour things, or of all without the *Pleroma*, except that eighth Heaven which ſhe her ſelf framed for her own Habitation, and is between the *Pleroma* and the Dwelling-place of this her Son, called by them *Demiurgus*, or Maker of the World: who being moved and excited by her, ignorantly and unknowingly created the whole Univerſe, with every Being therein; framed ſeven Heavens, in the ſupremeſt whereof he dwells in a ſupine, ſtupid, and careleſs manner, neither knowing any thing of, nor concerning himſelf about the Affairs of Mankind; but leaving them altogether unto the Devil, who was without his knowledge made by him, lives in this World, and rules and governs all the Events and Tranſactions thereof.

[a] *It comes from an* Hebrew *word which ſignifies Wiſdom, as her Mother* Sophia's *Name doth in* Greek.

Thus

Thus have I, as ſuccinctly as poſſible, in the moſt intelligible manner that I could, explicated the *Valentinian* Syſtem relating to the firſt Cauſe of all things, and the Creation of the World; wherein not only the Villany and Impiety, but alſo the Deluſion and Folly of thoſe Hereticks is to be admired and wonder'd at; which is ſo groſs and notorious, that it would have ſeem'd incredible and paſt belief, that ever ſuch a ſenſleſs number of People ſhould have appeared in the World, if the uncontroulable Records of the moſt Primitive Times had not made it moſt evident, that many embraced this pernicious Way; and that whilſt others blaſphemed the Creator of the Univerſe, by aſcribing the framing thereof to Angels, theſe diſhonoured him, by attributing it to an ignorant, doltiſh, and inferiour Divinity.

But beſides theſe Hereticks, there were yet others, who in another way and manner denied the Heaven and the Earth to be made by the one only ſupreme and eternal God; and theſe were the *Cerdonians* and *Marcionites*, the Introducers of two eternal Principles; the inferiour whereof, according to their Notions, was the Father and Creator of the Univerſe.

As for *Cerdon*, *Tertullian* writes, That [a] *he invented two Principles, or two Gods; the one a good God, who is the ſuperiour; and the other a fierce God, who was the Creator of the World.* And as for *Marcion*, he was *Cerdon*'s Scholar, and with him maintained two eternal Cauſes, a good and a bad one, God and the Devil; the latter of whom, as *Irenæus* frequently aſſures us, he aſſerted to be the [b] *framer of the World*; by which means, he made the Creator to be an inferiour God, as *Juſtin Martyr*, who lived in his Days, writes, That *Marcion* of *Pontus* [c] *imagined, that there was a greater God than the maker of the World.*

[a] Cerdon introducit initia duo, id eſt, duos Deos, unum bonum, & alterum ſævum: bonum ſuperiorem, ſævum hunc mundi creatorem. *De Præſcript. adverſ. Hæret.* p. 95.

[b] Mundi fabricatorem. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 29. p. 82.

[c] Ἄλλον τινὰ νομίζειν μείζονα τοῦ δημιουργοῦ Θεὸν. *Apolog.* 2. p. 70.

With too great reaſon now may we reflect with horrour and amazement on theſe monſtrous and unaccountable Hereſies! Who could poſſibly imagine, that the Fancies of Men ſhould ever have been ſo miſerably deluded? But, the Matter of Fact is too certain to be call'd in doubt; theſe Hereſies were ſo ſpreading and contagious, that as an Antidote againſt the venemous Infection thereof, the Governours of the Primi-

tive

tive Church found themſelves neceſſitated in contradiction thereunto, to inſert in the Creed, that the one God, the Father Almighty, is *the maker of Heaven and Earth*, as we find in *Irenæus*; who after he hath related ſeveral of the precedent Blaſphemies againſt God as Creator, the firſt Argument that he uſeth for their Confutation, is the Creed received in the Church, wherein we profeſs our Faith in one God, the Father Almighty, [a] *maker of Heaven, Earth and of every thing therein*; and in another place he ſaith, That [b] *the univerſal Church throughout the whole World, had received this Tradition from the Apoſtles, that there was but one God, the Maker of Heaven and Earth:* And again, diſputing againſt the *Gnoſticks* and *Valentinians*, he cites for their Confutation, the Rule of Faith received from the Apoſtles in all Churches, which ſaith he, teaches us, That [c] *there is but one Almighty God, who made all things by his Word,*

[a] Τὸν ποιητικὸτα τ̃ ὀρανὸν κ᾽ τ̃ γ̃ν, ☉ τὰς θαλάσσας, κ᾽ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 2. p. 34.

[b] Unum Deum fabricatorem cœli ac terræ, —— eccleſia omnis per univerſum orbem hanc accepit ab Apoſtolis traditionem. *Lib.* 2. *c.* 9. p. 107.

[c] Quia ſit unus Deus omnipotens, qui omnia condidit per Verbum ſuum,—ſive viſibilia, ſive inviſibilia, ſive ſenſibilia, ſive intelligibilia, ſive temporalia, ſive ſempiterna.—Hanc ergo tenentes regulam, licèt valdè varia & multa dicant, facilè eas deviáſſe à veritate arguimus. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 19. p. 74.

whether

whether viſible or inviſible, ſenſible or intelligible, temporal or eternal; which Rule if we obſerve, although they affirm many and various things, yet we ſhall eaſily convince them to ſwerve from the Truth. But, ſhould I produce whatſoever is to be found in the Books of *Irenæus* pertinent to my preſent purpoſe I ſhould ſwell this Chapter into a Volume.

In the *Dialogues* of *Origen*, when *Adamantius* the orthodox Chriſtian repeated the Catholick Faith, which he would defend in oppoſition to the *Marcionites*; as he confeſſed therein, that there was but one God, ſo he omitted not to add, That this one God was [a] *the Creator and Maker of all Things*; which he ſo well proved and confirmed, that *Eutropius* the Judge of the Diſputation, condemned the *Marcionites* for Fools: And together with *Adamantius*, in contradiction to their Hereſy, not only inſerted in his Creed the Unity of God, but alſo that he was [b] *the Creator and Framer of all Things*; ſo that when we recite this Clauſe in the Creed, of *Maker of Heaven and Earth*, we thereby profeſs our Belief, that the one eternal and ſupreme God, is the alone Creator and Former of all Things whatſoever, both viſible and inviſible.

[a] Κτίστὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἁπάντων εἶναι πεπίστευκα. *Dial.* 1. p. 3.

[b] Κτίστὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν ἁπάντων. *Dial.* 2. p. 69.

CHAP. III.

The Nicene *and more ancient* Greek *Creeds, read* in One Jeſus Chriſt; *which was a deſigned oppoſition to the blaſphemous Diviſion of* Jeſus *from* Chriſt, *by the* Gnoſticks *and others, whoſe ſeveral Hereſies are related. By believing in* Jeſus Chriſt, *we profeſs, that there was ſuch a Man as was known by the Name of* Jeſus *of* Nazareth, *which word* Jeſus *was an uſual Name amongſt the* Jews; *and that this* Jeſus *was the* Chriſt, *or the* Meſſias, *which was conſtantly a part of the Creed from the very beginning of the Goſpel; it being the Foundation of all Chriſtianity, and that which was moſt violently aſſaulted by the* Jews: *The Word* Chriſt *ſignifies* Anointed; *Unction uſed amongſt the* Jews *on ſeveral Occaſions; in alluſion whereunto* Jeſus *is called* Chriſt, *from his Conſecration to his triple Office of* Prophet, Prieſt, *and* King: *His Unction is to be underſtood in a ſpiritual ſenſe; God the Father was the Anointer, and the Holy Ghoſt the Oil, which was poured upon his human*

human Nature at his Conception and Baptiſm. His only Son, *wherein are two things contained*; Firſt, *That he is the Son of the Father*; his *Son, which was foretold by the Prophets, whence* Meſſias *and* the Son of God *were convertible terms amongſt the* Jews *at the time of our Saviour's appearance. Chriſt was the Son of God in ſeveral reſpects; but in one way peculiarly ſo, which is the ſecond thing in this Clauſe, that he is his* only *Son. The Scriptures affirm, That God had one Son in a peculiar manner, which is expreſſed in the* Greek *Creeds, to be by Generation; which was perhaps oppoſed to the* Valentinian *Emiſſion, or Diviſion from the Father; caution to be uſed in the ſearching into this Myſtery: Chriſt ſaid in the* Greek *Creeds to be the* Μονογενὴς, *or the* only Begotten, *in contradiction to the* Gnoſticks, *and others. This Article was coeval with Chriſtianity, and denotes Chriſt's Divine Nature: The Title* Lord, *denotes the Dominion of Chriſt, who is Lord by way of Eminency, being ſupreme Lord over all; and particularly, the Chriſtian's Lord,* our Lord: *Two oppoſite Parties in the Univerſe;*

the

the one under Chriſt, the other under the Devil, who have each their ſeparate Kingdoms; the Devil's Intereſt among Spirits, is unknown to us, but amongſt Mankind he very much prevailed, inſomuch that in ſeveral places he was worſhipped as God; but when Chriſt came, he deſtroyed the Devil's Kingdom, which was but an uſurp'd one, and erected his own Kingdom; the admiſſion whereinto was at Baptiſm, when the baptized Perſon not only acknowledged Chriſt's Lordſhip, but alſo expreſſly renounced the Devil's Power. This Article coeval with Chriſtianity, and denotes a ſubmiſſion to Chriſt as our Lord, in oppoſition to the Devil. In the next place, the Creed declares Chriſt's Humanity, the neceſſity of his being Man: His Incarnation blaſphemed and denied in ſundry ways and manners, by various Hereticks; againſt whom was levelled, whatſoever is mentioned in the Creed from our Saviour's Conception to his Reſurrection. The Conception *and* Nativity *are in moſt Creeds joined together in one Sentence.* Ebion, Cerinthus, *and others, affirmed Chriſt to have been a Man, conceived and born*

born in the ordinary way of Generation; againſt whom it is declared, that he was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, *and* born of *ſuch a Woman as was a* Virgin. *Several Hereticks whoſe Names are mentioned, denied that Chriſt aſſumed a material Body from the ſubſtance of his Mother, but held that his Body was fram'd in Heaven, and paſs'd through the Virgin* Mary *as Water through a Pipe; their reaſon for this Hereſy, which is emphatically condemned by this expreſſion,* ἐκ Μαρίας, *or,* of Mary: *The ſtrange Notion of the* Apelleians *concerning the making of our Saviour's Body, againſt whom, with the precedent Hereticks, the Creed directs us to believe, by his being* born of the Virgin *Mary, that he took from her Fleſh the real ſubſtance of his Body: The* Birth *of Chriſt employed alſo in conjunction with his Paſſion,* Crucifixion, Death *and* Burial, *to denote the reality of his Body: Theſe laſt four not all found in one and the ſame Creed, till St.* Auguſtin's *Days: The monſtrous conſequences of an imaginary and fantaſtical Incarnation, which was maintained by a prodigious Variety of Hereticks from the Days of St.*

St. John, *as by the* Simonians, Menandrians, *&c. Againſt whom was inſerted in the Creed, the* Birth *of Chriſt, and his* Sufferings; *which latter Point was ſo convincing a Proof, that to prevent any Cavils, as if it were a doubtful and uncertain thing, the Time thereof is declared to have been under* Pontius Pilate, *who was* Procurator *of* Judæa *in the Reign of the Emperour* Tiberius: *To condemn alſo the forementioned Hereſies, the* Crucifixion *of our Saviour follows, that it was not* Simon *of* Cyrene, *as the* Baſilidians *affirmed, but he himſelf who was crucified; and likewiſe his Death which is mentioned, becauſe the certainty thereof is the Foundation of the Goſpel: By* Death *is meant the ſeparation of Soul and Body; after which, for the ſame intent, follows the diſpoſal of his dead Body, viz. that it was* Buried, *or laid in the Grave.*

HAVING in the former Chapter ſpoken concerning our Faith in God the *Father*; in this I come to conſider in part, of that which relates unto the *Son:* The beginning whereof is, *and in Jeſus Chriſt*; wherein the firſt

first thing obſervable is, that the [a] *Nicene* and more ancient *Greek* Creeds read, *and in one Jeſus Chriſt*; putting an emphatical Force and Energy upon the term *One*; as in one of the Creeds of *Irenæus*, the Chriſtian Faith is not only terminated upon One God the Father, but alſo upon [b] *One Jeſus Chriſt*; and where the ſaid Father exhorts his Readers to a firm adherence unto the Faith, which the Church received from the Apoſtles, and diſtributes to her Children, this is one Article thereof, that there [c] *is but One Chriſt the Son of God:* which particular *Emphaſis* in the Oriental Creeds, was long ago remarked by *Ruffinus*, who aſſures us, that as they did all read in One God the Father Almighty, ſo alſo [d] *in One Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in conformity*, as he thinks, *to the Authority of St.* Paul, That there is but [e] *One Lord, and One God.*

[a] Εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν *Socrat. Ecc. Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 8. p. 25.

[b] Εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 2. p. 35.

[c] Unum Chriſtum Filium Dei. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 1. p. 169.

[d] Orientes Eccleſiæ omnes ita tradunt, Credo in unum Deum Patrem,—& in unum Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, unum ſcilicet Deum, & unum Dominum, ſecundùm auctoritatem Pauli Apoſtoli profitentis. *Expoſit. in Symb.* §. 4. p. 566.

[e] Epheſ. iv. 5, 6.

But, as I conceive, a more probable account of this emphatical Expreſſion may be fetched from the blaſphemous and horrid Imaginations of the *Gnoſticks*, *Cerinthians*, and others, who by dividing *Chriſt* from *Jeſus*, denied the Unity

Unity of our Saviour's Perſon; concerning the former of which Hereticks, *Irenæus* writes, That they did not only endeavour to withdraw Perſons from their Faith in *One* God the Father Almighty, but alſo from their [a] *Faith in one Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, by [b] *ſeparating* Jeſus *from* Chriſt, affirming them to be two diſtinct and different Perſons, and not *One Chriſt Jeſus*, as the Creed declares.

[a] Πίστιν —— εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 1. p. 12.

[b] Jeſum ſeparant à Chriſto. *Idem, lib.* 3. *c.* 11. p. 186.

The general Opinion of the *Gnoſticks* relating to this matter, ſeems to have been this, [c] That *Chriſt* was the Son of their Creator, whom they termed *Demiurgus*; from whom he derived an Animal Life, as from his Grandmother *Achamoth* he received a Spiritual one; that he paſſed through the Virgin *Mary* as Water through a Pipe; and that at his Baptiſm, *Jeſus* who lived with the thirty *Æons* within the *Pleroma*, deſcended into him in the form of a Dove, and continued with him till his Paſſion, when the ſaid *Jeſus* left *Chriſt*, and returned back to the *Pleroma* in an inviſible and incomprehenſible manner.

[c] *Iren. lib.* 1. *c.* 1. p. 22. *lib.* 3. *c.* 17. p. 201, 202. *and in many other places.*

The Blaſphemies of *Valentinus*, a principal Leader amongſt the *Gnoſticks*, reſpecting this particular, are thus briefly expreſſed by *Theodoret*, that he aſſerted,

That [a] *the Only Begotten was one, and the Word another; that there was one* Chriſt *within the Plenitude, and another* Jeſus; *and again one* Chriſt *without the Plenitude,*; *affirming moreover, that* Jeſus *was incarnated, but putting on the* Chriſt *that was without, and aſſuming unto himſelf a Body of an animal Subſtance:* thus making *Jeſus* and *Chriſt* to be two different Perſons. Which Hereſy was hatched before his time, in as much as we find it aſcribed to *Cerinthus*, who who affirmed *Jeſus* to be a mere Man, [b] *the Son of* Joſeph *and* Mary, *into whom Chriſt deſcended after Baptiſm, in the Shape of a Dove, from that Principality which is above all, and then revealed the unknown Father, and wrought Miracles; but in the end,* Chriſt *fled from* Jeſus, *and* Jeſus *ſuffered and roſe again, whilſt* Chriſt *remained impaſſible, being ſpiritual.* Againſt which [a] *Error*

[a] Βαλεντῖνος ἄλλον μὲν ἔφη τὸ μονογενῆ, ἄλλον δὲ τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Χριστὸν, τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος, καὶ ἕτερον τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἄλλον αὖ πάλιν, τὸν ἔξω Χριστὸν, ἀναθρωπῆσαι δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἔφη, τὸν ἔξω Χριστὸν ἐνδυσάμενον, καὶ σῶμα ἐκ τῆς ψυχικῆς οὐσίας ἀνειληφότα. *Epit. Haret. Fabul. lib.* 5. *c.* 12. p. 124.

[b] Jeſum fuiſſe Joſeph & Mariæ Filium, — & poſt baptiſmum deſcendiſſe in eum Chriſtum, ab eâ principalitate quæ eſt ſuper omnia, figurâ Columbæ, & tunc annunciâſſe incognitum Patrem, & virtutes perfeciſſe; in fine autem revolâſſe iterum Chriſtum de Jeſu, & Jeſum paſſum eſſe, & reſurrexiſſe, Chriſtum autem impaſſibilem perſeveraſſe, exiſtentem ſpiritalem. *Iren. lib.* 1. *c.* 25. p. 81.

[a] *Error of* Cerinthus, *Irenæus* aſſures us, *St.* John *levelled his Goſpel, perſuading them, that it was not as they ſaid, that there was one* Jeſus *the Son of the Creator, and another* Chriſt, *who came from the* Pleroma, *who remaining impaſſible, deſcended into the foreſaid* Jeſus, *the Son of the Creator, and afterwards returned back to the* Pleroma *again.*

[a] Johannes—volens per Evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum qui à Cerintho —— errorem —— ut ſuaderet eos —— quoniam —— non quemadmodum illi dicunt —— alium quidem fabricatoris Filium, alterum verò de ſuperioribus Chriſtum, quem & impaſſibilem perſeveràſſe, deſcendentem in Jeſum Filium fabricatoris, & iterum revolâſſe in ſuum Pleroma. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 11. p. 184.

Now if St. *John* deſigned his Goſpel for the confutation of this Hereſy, it is no wonder that the Church in her moſt early Days inſerted in the Rule of Faith, a proper Antidote there-againſt, requiring all her Sons to believe in *One Jeſus Chriſt*, which was a direct contradiction to all the forementioned Hereſies; for, as *Irenæus* well reaſons, [b] *If theſe Figments ſhould be admitted, it would neceſſarily follow, that there are two* Chriſts; *for, if one ſuffers, whilſt the other is incapable thereof, and one is born, whilſt the other deſcends into him ſo born, and afterwards leaves him,*

[b] Si enim alter quidem paſſus eſt, alter autem impaſſibilis manſit, & alter quidem natus eſt, alter verò in eum qui natus eſt, deſcendit & rurſus reliquit eum, non unus ſed duo monſtrantur. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 18. p. 206.

him, it is moſt certain that they are not one, but two: Which Diviſion and Separation of our Saviour's Perſon is ſuch an intolerable Blaſphemy, that as the ſaid Father writes, [a]*Chriſt Jeſus ſhall judge the* Valentinians *for it, when he ſhall come to judge the World.*

[a] Judicabit eos qui ſunt à Valentino omnes, — quia unum Dominum Jeſum Chriſtum, &c. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 58. p. 297.

But, though the *Eaſtern* Creeds did read in *One Jeſus Chriſt*, yet in the *Weſt*, where the Churches were not ſo much infeſted and ravaged by the *Gnoſticks*, the Creed, as our preſent one doth, expreſſed this Article without the addition of the term *One*, ſaying, *And in* Jeſus Chriſt, *his only Son our Lord, &c.* In which words, our Faith is declared in the Son of God; wherein we have him firſt deſcribed by his Name *Jeſus*; and then by his Office, that he is *Chriſt*; and afterwards by his Natures both divine and human, with ſeveral Acts belonging thereunto: Unto each of which, I ſhall ſpeak in their reſpective order.

And firſt of all, by the word *Jeſus*, I ſuppoſe the deſigned ſenſe thereof to have been no other than this, that hereby we muſt profeſs our Belief, that without queſtion or diſpute, there really was ſuch a Man living in the World as

was

was called *Jeſus*, or *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, to diſtinguiſh him from others of the ſame Name; for it muſt be obſerved, that *Jeſus* was a proper Name, attributed and given unto others beſides our Saviour: As *Joſhua* the Son of *Nun* was called [a] *Jeſus*; and beſides him, we read of [b] *Jeſus* who was called *Juſtus*, and of [c] *Barjeſus*, or the Son of *Jeſus*; it being an uſual Name amongſt the *Jews*, and like unto other Names, impoſed upon Children at their Circumciſion: According to which St. *Jerom* tells us concerning our Saviour, That as [d] Chriſt *was his common Name denoting Dignity, ſo* Jeſus *was his proper Name, by the* [e] *which*, as *Lactantius* writes, *he was called amongſt Men.*

[a] Heb. iv. 8.

[b] Coloſſ. iv. 11.

[c] Acts xiii. 6.

[d] Chriſtus commune dignitatis eſt nomen, Jeſus proprium vocabulum ſalvatoris. *Tom.* 6. *Com. in Matth. c.* 16. p. 33.

[e] Jeſus inter homines nominatur. *Inſtitut. lib.* 4. *c.* 7. p. 367.

As for the exact time when this *Jeſus* lived here on Earth, it is not mentioned in this part of the Creed, ſeeing in another part it is declared to have been in the days of *Pontius Pilate*; neither indeed was it neceſſary to be here expreſſed, ſince this Article being coeval with Chriſtianity, it was a thing then univerſally known and owned by all, as might eaſily be proved both from *Pagan* and *Jewiſh* Writers, that there

was ſuch a Man as *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, who preached an heavenly and divine Doctrine, and confirmed it both by an exemplary Life and undeniable Miracles; wherefore the bare Exiſtence of ſuch a Man was ſufficient to be expreſſed, whoſe Name *Jeſus* was principally inſerted in the Creed, and by conſequence chiefly to be conſidered, for no other reaſon than as it related to the following word *Chriſt*, *and in Jeſus Chriſt*; the intended meaning whereof was this, that the Man called *Jeſus*, who lived at *Nazareth*, is *Chriſt*; that is, is the *Meſſias*, or the Anointed of God; that very Perſon, who was deſign'd and appointed by him to be the Inſtructor, King, and Saviour of Mankind: The Declaration whereof at Baptiſm, was required from the very Foundation of Chriſtianity, ſeeing it is that on which our whole Religion depends, and what was moſt violently aſſaulted by the *Jews*, out of whom the firſt Converts were made.

St. *John* relates concerning the Fury and Malice of the *Jews*, that they had agreed, that if [a] *any Man did confeſs that this* Jeſus *was the* Chriſt, *he ſhould be put out of the Synagogue*, that is, be excommunicated; in which hatred againſt the Perſon and Name of *Jeſus*, the

[a] John ix. 22.

the Succeſſors of thoſe blind and enraged Zealots have obſtinately continued to this very day: They univerſally expected indeed about that time, the coming of the *Meſſias*; but they imagined, that it ſhould be in worldly Pomp and Splendor, that his Salvation ſhould be temporal and earthly, that he ſhould appear in a ſtate of Grandeur and Majeſty, and advance them to a ſuitable condition of Magnificence and terreſtrial Greatneſs: wherefore, when quite contrary to all their Imaginations, they beheld our *Jeſus* to be in mean and deſpiſed Circumſtances, an Inhabitant, and as they believed, born in the contemptible Town of *Nazareth*, from whence no good could come, attended only by a few deſpicable and unlearned Fiſhermen, labouring under Penury and Want, and living in an univerſal Contempt; they were ſcandalized hereat, and could not brook this *Jeſus* for their *Chriſt*, or *Meſſias*, who was ſo directly contrary to the gaudy Conceits they had entertained of him, which is an open denial and total ſubverſion of the whole Goſpel; for, if this *Jeſus* be not *Chriſt*, our Religion, as was hinted before, is vain and falſe: The very Baſis and Foundation of the whole Body of Chriſtianity is, that *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*

is the *Chriſt*, or the *Meſſias*; wherefore, from the firſt preaching of the Goſpel, the belief of his being the *Meſſias* or *Chriſt*, was always required at Baptiſm; as is farther evident from the Exhortation of St. *Peter* to the convinced *Jews*, to [a] *be baptized every one of them in the Name of* Jeſus Chriſt, *for the remiſſion of Sins:* And from his [b] *baptizing Cornelius*, and his Friends, for the ſame intent, *in the Name of the Lord*; where, ſeeing they were baptized in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt* for the remiſſion of Sins, it is moſt apparent, that they muſt neceſſarily yield their aſſent to this Propoſition, that *Jeſus* was the *Chriſt*, who had procured Pardon and Forgiveneſs for them.

[a] Acts ii. 38.

[b] Acts x. 48.

In the Confeſſion alſo of the [c] *Eunuch*, which he made antecedent to his Baptiſm, there is included an acknowledgment of this neceſſary Truth, that *Jeſus* is the Saviour of the World; as *Irenæus* writes concerning him, That [d] *he had been beforehand catechized by the Prophets, concerning God the Father; and that he only lacked to be inſtructed in the coming of the Son of God, which was now*

[c] Acts viii. 37.

[d] Nihil enim aliud deerat ei, qui à prophetis fuerat præcatechizatus, non Deum Patrem—— ſed ſolum adventum ignorabat Filii Dei, — Quapropter non multum laboravit circa eum Philippus.—Propter hoc autem & Apoſtoli oves colligentes quæ perierant domus Iſrael, — oſtendebant Jeſum crucifixum, hunc eſſe Chriſtum Filium Dei vivi. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 40. p. 274, 275.

now done by Philip, *who eaſily perſuaded him, that he was* Jeſus Chriſt, *who was crucified under* Pontius Pilate; *which Method was alſo obſerved by the Apoſtles, who in their Sermons to the* Jews *did principally ſhew them, that that* Jeſus *who was crucified, was the Chriſt, the Son of the Living God.* Wherefore, when we repeat theſe words in the Creed, *in Jeſus Chriſt*, we thereby declare our ſincere and unfeigned Belief, that that Man who was called *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* is the *Chriſt*: Which word ſignifies in *Greek Anointed*, as *Meſſias* doth in *Hebrew* alſo. I might hence take an occaſion to enlarge on the uſe and end of Unction amongſt the *Jews*, and on the Analogy that is between it and that of our Saviour; but this being not ſo pertinent to my preſent Deſign, and it having been already largely handled by others, I ſhall only briefly mention ſo much thereof, as will be neceſſary to render this Treatiſe complete and entire.

In the Kingdom of *Iſrael* therefore, this Ceremony of *Unction* was uſed to deſign the Conſecration, Dedication or Appointment of any Perſon or Thing to any particular Act or Office; and eſpecially, it was employed in the Vocation, Conſecration, and Inauguration of

of their *Prophets*, *Prieſts*, and *Kings*; as [a] *Eliſha* was anointed to be a *Prophet* by *Elijah*; and the [b] *Levitical Law* preſcribes Unction to every *High Prieſt*, at his inveſtiture in his Office; and [c] *Zadok* the Prieſt inaugurated *Solomon* in his *Kingdom*, by anointing him with Oil. Now in alluſion hereunto, our Saviour is ſaid to be anointed by a ſpiritual Unction, being ſet apart, conſecrated, and dedicated thereby, to be a *Great Prophet*, *an High Prieſt*, and *an univerſal King*; in a moſt eminent manner uniting in himſelf the three Offices, *viz.* Prophetical, Sacerdotal and Regal, which were divided in the *Jewiſh* Adminiſtration, as *Petrus Chryſologus* remarks in his Expoſition thereof, That [d] Jeſus *was called* Chriſt *from anointing*; *becauſe, that Unction which formerly by a Figure ran upon Kings, Prophets, and Prieſts, the Divine Spirit poured with a perfect Plenitude on this King of Kings, Prieſt of Prieſts, and Prophet of Prophets.*

[a] 1 Kings xix. 16.

[b] Lev. iv. 3.

[c] 1 Kings i. 39.

[d] Ab unctione Chriſtus, — quia & Unctio quæ per Reges, Prophetas & Sacerdotes olim cucurrerat in figuram, in hunc Regem Regum, Sacerdotem Sacerdotum, Prophetarum Prophetam, tota ſe plenitudine Spiritus divinitatis effudit. *In Symb. Apoſt. Serm.* 59. p. 53.

As for the manner of our Lord and Saviour's *Unction*, it cannot be ſuppoſed to have been by real and material Oil,

Oil, but it muſt be underſtood of a ſpiritual and divine Operation. *Athanaſius* obſerving the ſeveral Reſemblances and Parallels that are betwixt *David* and *Chriſt*, in every one whereof the latter hath the Preeminency, mentions this for one: *David*, ſaith he, *was anointed with material Oil; but the manner of our Saviour's anointing is thus deſcribed in the forty fifth Pſalm, Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a right Scepter is the Scepter of thy Kingdom: thou haſt loved Righteouſneſs, and hated Iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the Oil of Gladneſs above thy Fellows;* [a] *where it is ſaid with the Oil of Gladneſs, leſt by the word Anointing we ſhould apprehend an Equality between them:* David *and* Chriſt *were both anointed, but the one was anointed by Man, and the other by the Father; which Unction is ineffable, and the manner thereof incomprehenſible: wherefore the Pſalmiſt ſtyles it, the Oil of Gladneſs above thy Fellows; for, although both are alike anointed, yet their Unction is not of equal Worth and Dignity; for, as* Chriſt

[a] Ἵνα μὴ τῇ ὁμοιολεξίᾳ τὴν Χείστεως ἰσοτομίαν νομίσῃς, εἶναι τὸ λεγομένων, ἐχρίσθη Δαβὶδ, ἐχρίσθη καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐχρίσθη ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου, ὁ δὲ ἐχρίσθη ὑπὸ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἡ Χρίσις ἀνεκδιήγητος, καὶ ἀκατάληπτα τὰ πράγματα, &c. *Tom.* I. *Homil. de Semen.* p. 1068.

Chriſt *retains the Parallel, ſo alſo he conſerves the Pre-eminency.*

He who anointed our Saviour was God the Father; and the Oil with which he performed it, was the Holy Ghoſt: [a] *In the word* Chriſt, ſaith *Irenæus, there is underſtood the Anointer, the Anointed, and the Unction; the Anointer is the Father, the Anointed is the Son, and the Unction is in the Spirit; as he ſaith by the Prophet* Iſaiah, *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, becauſe he anointed me; ſignifying the Father who anointeth, the Son who is anointed, and the Spirit who is the Oil:* Which Oil was chiefly poured upon him at his Conception and Baptiſm; and, as *Origen* obſerves, [b] *is to be referred to his human Nature*, in which he was anointed by God to be both Lord and Saviour.

[a] In Chriſti nomine ſubauditur, qui unxit, & ipſe qui unctus eſt, & ipſa unctio in qua unctus eſt; & unxit quidem Pater, unctus eſt verò Filius, in Spiritu qui eſt unctio; quemadmodum per Eſaiam ait ſermo, Spiritus Dei ſuper me propter quòd unxit me, ſignificans & ungentem Patrem, & unctum Filium, & unctionem qui eſt Spiritus. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 20. p. 209.

[b] Μήποτε ὃ λανθάνει ἡμᾶς ὁ διὰ ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν Χριστὸς ὤν. *Vol.* 2. *Comment. in Johan. Tom.* 1. p. 29.

After our Saviour's human Name, and the declaration of his Function and Office, there follows in the Creed his Filiation, or Sonſhip, expreſſed in the word *Son*, which is his divine Name; whereby we are not to underſtand any thing

thing that is human and common, but ſuch a Filiation as is Divine, proper and peculiar unto him, and is not communicable and attributable unto any other, being his Father's *only Son*; wherein are two things obſervable: *Firſt*, That he is the Son of the Father, *his Son*: *Secondly*, That he is his *only* Son, *i. e.* ſuch a Son, or a Son in ſuch a manner as never any other is or was.

The Oracles of the Old Teſtament did foretel, that *Chriſt* ſhould be the *Son* of God: [a] *I will declare the Decree; the Lord hath ſaid unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* [b] *He ſhall cry unto me, Thou art my Father, my God, and the Rock of my Salvation: Alſo, I will make him my Firſt-born, higher than the Kings of the Earth.* [c] *Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the Government ſhall be upon his Shoulder, and his Name ſhall be called Wonderful, Counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace.* [d] *When Iſrael was a Child, then I loved him, and called my Son out of Egypt.* Whence amongſt the *Jews*, at the time of our Saviour's appearance, *Meſſias* and *the Son of God* were convertible terms, deſigning the ſame Perſon, as is evident from ſeveral

[a] Pſal. ii. 7.

[b] Pſal. lxxxix. 26, 27.

[c] Iſa. ix. 6.

[d] Hoſea xi. 1.

Paſſages in the New Teſtament; as,
[a] Joh. i. 49. [a] *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou*
[b] John xi. 27. *art the King of Iſrael.* [b] *I believe, that thou art the* Chriſt, *the Son of God, which ſhould come into the World.*
[c] Matth. viii. 29. [c] *What have we to do with thee,* Jeſus, *thou Son of God?*

Now *Chriſt* is on ſeveral reſpects called *the Son of God* in Scripture, as he is ſo called on the account of his temporal Generation, being conceived in an extraordinary manner in the Virgin's Womb, by the Power of the Holy Ghoſt; whence the Angel told the Vir-
[d] Luke i. 35. gin *Mary*, He [d] *ſhould be called the Son of God.* And, he is alſo ſo called by reaſon of his Reſurrection from the Dead, whereby he was, as it were, begotten to another Life by God his Father, who raiſed him, as in *Acts* xiii. 32, 33. *And we declare unto you glad Tidings, how that the Promiſe which was made unto the Fathers, God hath fulfilled the ſame unto us their Children, in that he hath raiſed up Jeſus again; as it is alſo written in the ſecond Pſalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.* And, he is likewiſe called *the Son of God*, by reaſon of that high Office whereunto he was called by the ſpecial Deſignation and
[e] John x. 36. immediate Will of God: [e] *Say ye of him,*

him, whom the Father hath ſanctified and ſent into the World, Thou blaſphemeſt; becauſe I ſaid, I am the Son of God? As alſo, by reaſon of his great Dignity and Authority, being next in order to the Father, and ſat down on the right Hand of the Majeſty on High, whereby he hath the actual poſſeſſion as Heir of all. [a] *God hath in theſe laſt Days ſpoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed Heir of all things, by whom alſo he made the Worlds; who being the brightneſs of his Glory, and the expreſs Image of his Perſon, and upholding all things by the Word of his Power, when he had by himſelf purged our Sins, ſat down on the right Hand of the Majeſty on high, being made ſo much better than the Angels, as he hath by Inheritance obtained a more excellent Name than they; for unto which of the Angels ſaid he at any time, Thou art my Son, this Day have I begotten thee? And again, I will be to him a Father, and he ſhall be to me a Son.*

[a] Heb. i. 2, 3, 4, 5.

Now in all theſe forementioned reſpects, our Saviour was the Son of God by way of Eminency and Excellency beyond and above all others; but he doth not ſeem to have been ſo ſolely and ſolitarily, and excluſive of all others,

which is the Filiation and Sonſhip intended in the Creed: It being ſaid therein, that he is *his only Son*, which is the ſecond thing obſervable in this Clauſe; and intimates the peculiarity of his Sonſhip, that he is the Son of God in ſuch a way or manner, as never any other was, is, or can be.

The holy Scriptures do abundantly aſſure us, that God had one particular Son in ſuch a peculiar way and manner as he had never any other; as,

[a] John iii. 16, 17, 18. [a] *God ſo loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting Life; for God ſent not his Son into the World to condemn the World, but that the World through him might be ſaved. He that believeth on him is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already, becauſe he hath not believed in the Name*

[b] Rom. viii. 3. *of the only begotten Son of God.* [b] *God ſending his own Son in the likeneſs of ſinful Fleſh, and for ſin condemned ſin*

[c] Gal. iv. 4. *in the Fleſh.* [c] *When the Fulneſs of the time was come, God ſent forth his Son made of a Woman, made under the*

[d] 1 John iii. 8. *Law.* [d] *For this purpoſe the Son of God was manifeſted, that he might de-*

[e] 1 John iv. 9. *ſtroy the Works of the Devil.* [e] *In this was manifeſted the love of God towards*

us,

us, becauſe that God ſent his only begotten Son into the World, that we might live through him. And ſeveral other Paſſages there are in Holy Writ, which ſhew, that God had one Son in a proper and peculiar way, ſo and in ſuch manner as he had never any other Son; which way and manner is expreſſly declared in the *Greek* Creeds, to be by Generation: All the *Greek* Creeds reading, and in Jeſus Chriſt *his only begotten* Son, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ; and ſuppoſed in the *Latin* Creeds, under the term *only*, and in *Jeſus Chriſt* his *only* Son. For, as *Athanaſius* ſays, [a] Chriſt *is the only begotten, and therefore the only.*

[a] Μονογενὴς γὰρ ἐστὶ, διὸ καὶ μόνος: *Ad Semp. Tom.* 1. *S. Sanct. non eſſe Creat.* p. 190.

[b] *When thou heareſt,* ſaith St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, Chriſt *called a Son, do not think him to be an adopted Son, but a natural Son, an only begotten Son, not having any Brother; for he is therefore called the only begotten, becauſe there is none other like him, either as to the Dignity of his Deity, or his Birth from his Father.* And again, [c] *When thou heareſt him called a Son, do not under-*

[b] Υἱὸν ἀκούων μὴ νομίσῃς θετὸν, ἀλλὰ φυσικὸν υἱὸν, υἱὸν μονογενῆ, ἀδελφὸν ἕτερον οὐκ ἔχοντα· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καλεῖται μονογενὴς, ὅτι εἷς τὸ τῆς θεότητος ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ἐκ Πατρὸς γέννησιν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἔχει. *Catech.* 11. p. 93.

[c] Υἱὸν ἀκούων μὴ καταχρηστικῶς ἄκουε μόνον, ἀλλὰ υἱὸν ἀληθῶς, υἱὸν φυσικόν. *Catech.* 11 p. 94.

ſtand him ſo only abuſively or improperly, but underſtand him to be a true Son, a natural Son. So that *Chriſt* was the true and natural Son of God, begotten of him before all Worlds; that as by Generation, one of the ſame Kind and Nature is produced with a Likeneſs and Similitude to the Producer, ſo in a more perfect and eminent manner, the Father before all Worlds begot a Son like unto himſelf; which manner of his Production by Generation, was perhaps placed in the Creed, in oppoſition to the Blaſphemies of the *Valentinians* and *Gnoſticks*, who imagined it to be by Emiſſion, and conſequently by Diviſion and Section from that Nature or Being, from whom he was emitted: Wherefore, *Athanaſius* in his Creed, not in that which commonly paſſeth under his Name, but in another, expreſſly oppoſeth the Generation of the Son, to this Emiſſion of the *Gnoſticks*; [a] *We believe*, ſaith he, *in one only begotten Word, born of the Father, without beginning of Time, from all Eternity, being not a Diviſion from the impaſſible Nature, or an Emiſſion, but a perfect Son.*

[a] Πιϛεύομεν—εἰς ἕνα μονογενῆ λόγον, —— ἐκ δὲ Πατρὸς ἀνάρχως καὶ ἀϊδίως γεγεννημένον, λόγον τέλειον —— ἀ τμῆσιν τ ἀπαθοῦς φύσεως, ὅτι προβολὴν, ἀλλ' υἱὸν αὐτοτελῆ. *Tom.* 1. *Expoſ. fid.* p. 240.

As

As for the manner of the Father's eternal begetting of the Son, there are various Similitudes uſed by the Ancients to help our Conceptions therein; as that the Father begat the Son, as a Fountain doth its Streams, and the Sun Light, and a Root the Branches, and ſeveral others ſuch like: But whether all of them will abide a ſtrict ſcrutiny, I ſhall not here enquire; only this I ſhall venture to affirm, that none of them do yield us any adequate or ſatisfactory Apprehenſion of this ſublime and incomprehenſible Myſtery. For which reaſon, great caution is to be uſed in our ſearches thereinto, and expreſſions thereof, that we do not with too great nicety and curiouſneſs dive into his profound and incomprehenſible Secret, leſt whilſt we endeavour to ſhew our Learning and Knowledge, we betray our Ignorance, and, what is worſe, conceive and utter things unbecoming the divine and infinite Majeſty.

This was the wiſe and pious Advice of the famous *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who was the firſt Diſcoverer and Condemner of *Arius*: *It is true*, writes that Biſhop, *That the Son was begotten*; *but he that enquires*

farther into the manner thereof, [a] *is not to be reckoned amongſt the pious, ſeeing he hearkens not to that which is written, Seek not after things which are too difficult for thee, and ſearch not into thoſe things which are too high for thee; for if the knowledge of many other things, far inferiour to this, exceed the reach of an human Underſtanding, how then ſhall any without madneſs pretend curiouſly to ſearch into the Eſſence of the divine Word? Of whom the Holy Ghoſt by the Prophet ſaith, Who ſhall declare his Generation?* Wherefore, according to this prudent Counſel, I ſhall forbear to ſay any thing concerning the manner of the divine Generation of the Son, and paſs on to another Obſervation, which may be made on this Clauſe, as it is in the *Greek* Creeds, *viz.* That *Chriſt*, and not any other is the Μονογενὴς, or the *only Begotten*; which ſeems to be a deſigned contradiction to the blaſphemous *Gnoſticks*, who denied *Chriſt* to be the *only Begotten*, affirming their ſecond Male *Æon* to

[a] Εἰς ἐυσεβεῖς ἐκ οἶμαι λογιζομένους τὰς μέχρι τούτων ἐπηρωτᾶν, τί τολμῶντας διὰ τὸ ἀνήκοον ἅπαν· καλεπωτέρῳ ὄντι μὴ ζήτει, καὶ ὑψηλοτέρῳ ὄντι μὴ ἐξέταζε· εἰ γὰρ ἑτέρων πολλῶν ἡ γνῶσις, ἃ τούτων ἀσυγκρίτως κολοβωτέρων, κέκρυπται τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῳ καταλήψιν, —— πῶς ἂν φθιερισάσαιτό τις τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγια ὑπόσασιν, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ μελαγχολικῇ διαθέσει ληφθεὶς τυγχάνοι; φησὶ γὰρ τὸ προφητικὸν πνεῦμα, τὴν γένεαν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσηται; *Epiſt. ad Alex. Conſtantinop. apud Theodorit. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib.* I. *c.* 4. p. 12.

to be the *only Begotten*; whilſt diſowning *Chriſt* ſo to be, they made him to be a Being formed within the *Pleroma*, after the number of the thirty *Æons* was compleated. According to which *Irenæus* ſaith, That they [a] *imagined the only Begotten to be one, and* Jeſus *to be another:* And *Athanaſius* writes concerning *Ptolemæus*, [b] *the flower of* Valentinian's *School*, That he [c] *affirmed, that the Unbegotten, or God, had two Yokes*, as he termed them, *his Mind and his Will; and that firſt he imagined, and then willed; and that he could not effect what he had imagined, till the power of his Will was ſuperadded thereto; and that from his Mind and Will proceeded the only Begotten, and after him all others: from which Hereſy*, as *Athanaſius* continues there to write, *the* Arians *afterwards learned, That God's Counſel and Will preceded the Generation of the Word*; whereas the Orthodox maintained, that the *Word* was the very *Mind* of God, and ſo was the very *Firſt-begotten*, and gene-

[a] Ἄλλον μὲν τὸν μονογενῆ θέλησιν εἶναι, ἄλλον δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν γεγονέναι θέλησι. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 1. p 32.

[b] Floſculus Valentini Scholæ. *Iren. Lib.* 1. *in Præfat.* p. 3.

[c] Πτολεμαῖος ἔφη δύο ζύγους ἔχειν τὸν ἀγέννητον, ἔννοιαν καὶ θέλησιν, ὧν πρῶτον ἐνενόησεν, εἶτα ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἅπερ ἐνενόει, οὐκ ἐδυνάτο ἀπεργάζειν, εἰ μὴ ὅτε ὁ τοῦ θελήματος δυνάμις ἐγίνετο, &c. ὅθεν καὶ οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ μαθόντες, θέλημα καὶ βούλησιν προηγεῖσθαι θέλησι καὶ λόγου, &c. *Tom.* 1. *contra Arian. Orat.* 4. p. 510.

rated by him in ſuch a manner, as never any one elſe was; as *Maximus Taurinenſis* writes on this Article, that Chriſt [a] *is called the Only, or the only Begotten, becauſe he is the only One ſo born, and hath no Companion in his Nativity.*

[a] Unicus autem vel unigenitus annunciatur & creditur, quia unus ita eſt genitus, neque habet in nativitate conſortem. *Homil. in Symbol.* p. 239.

This Article of the Creed hath been coeval with Chriſtianity, and was wont to be demanded at Baptiſm of the Perſons who came to be baptized, as appears from the Form of the Celebration of Baptiſm, which is in the Name of the Son, as well as of the Father and the Holy Ghoſt; wherein is neceſſarily ſuppoſed a Belief of *Jeſus Chriſt* to be the Son of God; it being in it ſelf impoſſible to be baptized in the Name of the Son, without acknowledging the Perſon in whoſe Name he is baptized, to be that Son: Which Appellation of the Son of God denotes his divine Nature, as that of the Son of Man implies his human; as was long ago obſerved by *Novatianus* in his Expoſition of this part of the Creed, *viz.* [a] *That as our Saviour's being the Son of Man*

[a] Ut enim præſcripſit ipſa natura, hominem credendum eſt eſſe, qui ex homine ſit, ita & Scriptura Deum eſſe, qui ex Deo ſit; quòd ſi non & Deus fuerit, cùm ex Deo ſit, jam nec homo ſit, licèt ex homine fuerit. *De Trinitat.* p. 500.

declares

declares his Humanity, ſo his being the Son of God is an undeniable proof of his Divinity: And,

[a] Chriſt *is not only a Man, becauſe the Son of Man, but is alſo God, becauſe the Son of God.*

[a] Chriſtus non homo tantùm quia hominis Filius, ſed etiam Deus, quia Dei Filius comprobatur. *Ibid.* p. 503.

After the Filiation and divine Nature of our Saviour, there follows in the Creed his Dominion, expreſſed by the Title *Lord*; for that the Dominion of *Chriſt* is thereby aſſerted, appears from the Derivation of the *Greek* word κύριος, uſed for *Lord*: κύριος, [b] ſaith *Origen*, λέγεται διὰ τὸ κυριεύειν τινῶν, *Lord* comes from a word that ſignifies ruling, lording or governing; under which notion, it is frequently uſed by the *Septuagint* to expreſs the *Hebrew* word *Adon*, which properly implies Government and Authority.

[b] *Dial.* 1. p. 4.

Now *Chriſt* is not only *a Lord*, but he is ſo καθ' ἐξοχὴν, eminently and ſingularly ſo; whence he is frequently in the New Teſtament only called the *Lord*, without any farther or other addition; as, [c] *Come, ſee the place where the Lord lay.* [d] *The Lord is riſen indeed, and hath appeared to* Simon. [e] *They have taken the Lord out of the Sepulchre, and we know not*

[c] Mat. xxviii. 6.
[d] Luke xxiv. 34.
[e] John xx. 2.

a 1 Cor. xi. 23. *where they have laid him.* a *For I have received of the Lord that which alſo I have delivered unto you.* And innumerable other places there are in the New Teſtament, where *the Lord* alone abſolutely taken, is uſed determinately for *Chriſt.*

The Scripture is very copious in declaring the Dominion of *Chriſt*, that his Empire is univerſal, and his Kingdom everlaſting. b *All Power*, ſaith our Saviour, *is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth.* And, c *all things are delivered unto me of my Father.* d *The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his Hands*; whence he is particularly called, e *the Lord of all*, and f *the Head of every Man.* g *Let all the Houſe of Iſrael know aſſuredly*, ſaith St. *Peter*, *That God hath made him Lord and* Chriſt, *even this* Jeſus *whom ye did crucify*: h *God hath highly exalted him, and given him a Name above every Name, that at the Name of* Jeſus *every knee ſhould bow, of things in Heaven, and things in Earth, or things under the Earth*; *and that every Tongue ſhould confeſs, that* Jeſus Chriſt *is Lord, to the Glory of God the Father.* i *He ſhall be great, and ſhall be called the Son of the Higheſt*; *and the Lord God ſhall give unto*

b Mat. xxviii. 18.

c Mat. xi. 27.

d Joh. iii. 35.

e Acts x. 36.

f 1 Cor. xi. 3.

g Acts ii. 36.

h Philip. ii. 9, 10, 11.

i Luke i. 31, 32, 33.

unto him the Throne of his Father David, *and he ſhall reign over the Houſe of* Jacob *for ever, and of his Kingdom there ſhall be no end.* [a] *Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a Scepter of Righteouſneſs is the Scepter of thy Kingdom.* [b] *And there was given him Dominion, and Glory, and a Kingdom, that all People, Nations and Kingdoms, ſhould ſerve him; his Dominion is an everlaſting Dominion, which ſhall not paſs away, and his Kingdom that which ſhall not be deſtroyed.* And ſeveral other ſuch like Paſſages there are in the holy Scripture, which ſhew the extenſiveneſs and duration of our Saviour's Kingdom, that he is King and Lord of all.

[a] Heb. i. 8.

[b] Dan. vii. 14.

But, though *Chriſt* be thus the univerſal Lord, and hath a ſupreme Dominion over all, yet the Creed particularly terms him *our Lord*; which intimates ſome propriety of Dominion that he hath over us *Chriſtians*, as we are immediate Subjects of his particular Kingdom.

There are ſome Hints and imperfect Diſcoveries in the Scripture of two great Powers in the Univerſe, contending againſt each other under their reſpective Heads and Leaders; the Head of one Party being *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the Head of

of the other the *Devil*, who is alſo called in Scripture *Satan*, *Apollyon*, the *Dragon*, and the *Old Serpent*; there being, as it ſeems very probable, one particular Spirit by way of Eminency called the *Devil*, who is at the Head of that Party, which oppoſeth it ſelf to the Son of God and his Followers; as appears from the Sentence on the wicked at the laſt Day, which is, that they depart accurſed into everlaſting Fire, prepared for [a] *the Devil and his Angels*; and from other places of Scripture which might be enumerated. Theſe two Chiefs, *Chriſt* and the *Devil*, have two ſeparate Kingdoms; between whom there is a perpetual and unwearied Oppoſition: [b] *And there was War in Heaven*; Michael *and his Angels fought againſt the Dragon, and the Dragon fought and his Angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in Heaven; and the great Dragon was caſt out, that Old Serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole World; he was caſt out into the Earth, and his Angels were caſt out with him.* The Kingdom of *Chriſt* is repreſented to us under the notion of a Kingdom of Light, as that of the *Devil* is under the notion of a Kingdom

[a] Matth. xxv. 41.

[b] Rev. xii. 7, 8, 9.

Kingdom of Darkneſs, as in *Col.* i. 12, 13. *Giving thanks unto the Father, who hath made us meet to be partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light, who hath delivered us from the power of Darkneſs, and hath tranſlated us into the Kingdom of his dear Son.* [a] *That ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you unto his Kingdom and Glory.* And St. *Paul* was ſent to preach the Goſpel unto the *Gentiles*, [b] *to open their Eyes, and to turn them from Darkneſs unto Light, and from the power of Satan unto God.* And St. *Barnabas* towards the concluſion of his Epiſtle gives an elegant Deſcription [c] *of the two ways; the one of Light, over which preſide the Angels of God, who is the eternal Lord; and the other of darkneſs, which is ſubject to the Angels of Satan, who is the ruler of Wickedneſs.* What number of Spirits the Devil drew into his Party and Intereſt is unknown to us, for that the Scripture hath not reveal'd it; but our own obſervation will give us too ſad a view of the extent of his Kingdom amongſt Mankind, where he gradually enlarged his Empire, till at length the whole Earth was covered with

[a] 1 Theſſ. ii. 12.

[b] Acts xxvi. 16.

[c] Ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ—ἥτε τοῦ φωτὸς ἥτε τοῦ σκότους—ἐφ' ἧς μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ τεταγμένοι φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐφ' ἧς δὲ ἄγγελοι τοῦ Σατανᾶ, ὁ μὲν εἷς κύριος ἀπ' αἰώνων εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων καιροῦ τῆς ἀνομίας. *Epiſt. Catholic.* c. 18. p. 102.

with Ignorance and Darkneſs; and eſpecially at the time of our Saviour's coming into the World, the generality of Mankind were ſo gain'd and blinded by him, that they had almoſt loſt all right and true notions of God, and were ſo far ſunk into Idolatry, that in ſeveral places the Devil himſelf was actually worſhipped and adored as God; for proof whereof, I need not cite the Oracles at *Delphos* and other Places, who were ſo many Devils and impure Spirits, ſeeing the Scripture is plain in ſeveral places, that ſeveral of the Gods whom the *Gentiles* worſhipped, were Devils; as, [a] *They ſacrificed unto Devils, not to God,* [b] *yea, they ſacrificed their Sons and their Daughters unto Devils:* And, [c] *the things which the Gentiles ſacrifice, they ſacrifice to Devils, and not to God.*

[a] Deut. xxxii. 17.
[b] Pſalm. cvi. 37.
[c] 1 Cor. x. 20.

St. *John* ſaith, That [d] *the whole World lieth in Wickedneſs,* ὁ κόσμος ὅλος ἐν τῷ πονηρῷ κεῖται, which may be rendred, *The whole Word is ſubject to the wicked one, or to the Devil*; as it was moſt remarkably at the time of our Saviours coming in the Fleſh, when the generality of Mankind were the Devil's Vaſſals and Subjects: And [e] *being dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins, walked according to the courſe of the World,*

[d] 1 John. v. 19.
[e] Eph. ii. 2.

World, according to the Prince of the power of the Air, and the Spirit that worketh in the Children of Diſobedience; whence the Devil is called the God of this World: [a] *In whom the God of this World hath blinded the Eyes of them who believe not*; and the Prince of this World: [b] *The Prince of this World cometh, and hath nothing in me*; and, [c] *The Prince of this World is judged:* And the Devil and his Angels are called [d] *Principalities and Powers, and the rulers of the Darkneſs of this World.*

[a] 2 Cor. iv. 4.
[b] John xiv. 30.
[c] John xvi. 11.
[d] Epheſ. vi. 12.

But now when our Saviour came into the World, he erected his Kingdom amongſt Mankind, and broke the Devil's Kingdom and Power, and wherever the Goſpel came, put a period to the Worſhip and Adoration of the Devil, and deſtroy'd his Empire and Dominion; whence the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* ſaith, That *Chriſt* [e] *deſtroyed him that had the power of Death, that is, the Devil*; that is, he aboliſhed him as to any farther pretence of Empire or Power over us: And St. *John* ſaith, That [f] *the Son of God was for this purpoſe manifeſted, that he might deſtroy the Works of the Devil:* Satan [g] *fell from Heaven like Lightning* at the coming of our Lord, who

[e] Heb. ii. 14.
[f] 1 Joh. iii. 8.
[g] Luk. x. 18.

who ejected and caſt out the Devil. [a] *Now is the Judgment of this World, now ſhall the Prince of this World be caſt out.* [b] *The Prince of this World is judged:* We are now redeemed by the Power of *Chriſt*, from the Slavery and Bondage of the Devil.

[a] John xii. 31.

[b] John xvi. 11.

The Poſſeſſion which the Devil got of the human Nature, was, [c] as *Irenæus* writes, *a forced and uſurped one, acquired through our Sin and Apoſtacy, by which we became the Houſe and Veſſels of that ſtrong Man; but the Lord* Jeſus *hath bound this ſtrong Man, and delivered us from his Uſurpation and Tyranny.* He came into this World, and erected an adverſe and oppoſite Kingdom to the Devil's Kingdom, and invited all Men to come into his Kingdom, and be Subjects thereof; the Entrance or formal Admiſſion into which, was at Baptiſm, when the Party baptized made a viſible and open Renunciation of the Devil's Kingdom and Intereſt, and publickly ſubmitted himſelf to *Jeſus Chriſt* as his Lord and Governour.

[c] *Lib.* 3. *c.* 6. p. 174, 175, 176. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 18. p. 343, 344.

This was one of the principal Subjects of the Apoſtle's Sermons, that *Jeſus Chriſt* was *Lord*; and this was the principal Engagement made by new Converts at their Baptiſm, to ſubmit to him

him as ſuch. Thus St. *Peter* concluded his Sermon, which he made on the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, [a] *Let all the Houſe of Iſrael know aſſuredly, That God hath made that ſame* Jeſus *whom ye have crucified, both Lord and* Chriſt. And ſo St. *Peter* and the other Apoſtles, in their defence before the *Sanhedrim*, told them, That [b] *God had exalted* Jeſus *with his right Hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Iſrael, and forgiveneſs of Sins.* And ſo St. *Paul* ſaith, That though [c] *there be (id eſt,* according to popular Eſtimation) *Gods many, and Lords many; yet to us there is but one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *by whom are all things, and we by him:* [d] *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm, one God and Father of all.* So that the very Formality of a *Chriſtian*, and the Intention of a Perſons being ſuch, was to ſubmit to *Chriſt* as Lord, which every one profeſſed to do at Baptiſm; that being a viſible admiſſion into his Kingdom, and an open profeſſion of Subjection to him: whence *Cornelius* and his Company were ſaid to be [e] *baptized in the Name of the Lord, id eſt,* they were by Baptiſm

[a] Acts ii. 36.

[b] Acts v. 31.

[c] 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

[d] Epheſ. iv. 5, 6.

[e] Acts x. 48.

tiſm initiated into the Service of *Chriſt* as Lord.

And it is farther obſervable, That the baptized Perſon did not only own the Dominion and Lordſhip of *Chriſt* at Baptiſm, but he did then likewiſe in expreſs terms, renounce and abjure the Vaſſalage and Service of the Devil; it being the ancient Courſe, to demand of every Perſon at his Baptiſm, juſt before he received the Baptiſmal Laver, whether he renounced the Devil and all his Works? To which he gave his publick Aſſent, and ſo made a ſolemn Abjuration of the Devil, and his Government and Intereſt, being now to become a Servant of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and a Subject of his Kingdom. So *Clemens Alexandrinus* writes, That in Baptiſm [a] *we renounced the evil Powers, id eſt*, the Devil; and *Tertullian*, That [b] *we renounced the Devil and his Angels*; and, [c] *we covenanted to renounce the Devil, his Pomp and his Angels*; and *Cyprian*, That [d] *we renounced the Devil, and the World.*

[a] Ἀποταξαμένων ἡμῶν ταῖς πονηραῖς ἀρχαῖς. *Theod. Epiſt.* p. 573.

[b] Renunciavimus Diabolo & Angelis ejus. *De Idololat.* p. 618.

[c] Pactus es renunciare Diabolo & pompæ & angelis ejus. *Lib. de animâ, c.* 17. p. 554.

[d] Diabolo & mundo renunciavimus. *De bono patientiæ*, §. 7. p. 365.

Now

Now if we reflect on all theſe Matters, on the two oppoſite Kingdoms of *Chriſt* and the *Devil*, on the extent of the Devil's Kingdom at the time of our Saviour's coming, on the deſtruction or weakening of it by our Saviour, and his viſible erecting of a Kingdom among Mankind, and the admiſſion into it by Baptiſm, it will moſt evidently appear, that this Article had its beginning with *Chriſtianity* it ſelf; and that the intended meaning thereof was, ſolemnly to declare thereby, that *Jeſus Chriſt* is Lord and Governour of all, and particularly of us *Chriſtians*, in oppoſition to the Devil, his Kingdom and Empire; every Perſon at Baptiſm particularly, and ſolemnly profeſſing *Chriſt* to be his Lord, in oppoſition to the Devil, whom *Chriſt* hath conquered and overcome: On which Account St. *Auſtin* aſſures us, That *Chriſt* is in the Creed termed

[a] *our Lord, becauſe he hath ſpoiled our ancient Enemy, and hath called us to his particular Dominion.*

[a] Chriſtus eſt — unicus Dominus noſter, ſpoliato antiquo hoſte, ſingulari dominio ſuo adſciſcens nos. *Tom.* 10. *Serm.* 181. *De Temp.* p. 526.

Baptiſm doth in its own nature ſuppoſe the Submiſſion of the baptized Perſon to the Dominion and Lordſhip

of *Chriſt*, it being the publick Rite of initiation into his Kingdom, and the ſolemn Admiſſion into the number of his Subjects; ſo that whenever Baptiſm hath been uſed, the Lordſhip or Dominion of *Chriſt* hath been then either implied, or expreſſly aſſented to, and owned: From whence it follows, that this Article in the Creed, whereby *Jeſus Chriſt* is profeſſed to be *Lord*, is coeval with *Chriſtianity*, and hath been always either expreſſed or implied at Baptiſm.

After the Declaration of our Saviour's divine Nature and Lordſhip, the Creed deſcends in the next place to his Humanity, affirming him who was named juſt before his only Son our Lord, *to be conceived* by the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the Virgin *Mary*; by that and the following Expreſſions, declaring the reality, certainty and manner of his Incarnation; that he, who is the Son of God, did for us Men and our Salvation, become the Son of Man, not diſdaining to take on him the Seed of *Abraham*, and to become in every thing like unto us, Sin only excepted, that he might redeem and ſave us, and in our Nature vanquiſh and overcome the Devil, who had captivated and enſlav'd

ſlav'd us: For, as *Irenæus* obſerves, [a] *The Lord being moſt kind and merciful, and loving Mankind, he united Man to God; for if Man had not conquered the Enemy of Man, that Enemy would not have been juſtly overcome: Even as if God had not given us Salvation, we could not have ſecurely enjoy'd it; ſo if Man had not been conjoin'd with God, he could not have been a partaker of Incorruption; it behoved therefore the Mediator between God and Man, by his relation unto both, to reduce them both to Amity and Concord, and to cauſe that God ſhould aſſume Man, and that Man ſhould give himſelf to God*; ſo that there was a neceſſity of the Mediator's being really and truly Man. [b] *It was through a conquered Man, that Death deſcended on the human Nature; wherefore it was neceſſary,* as *Irenæus* remarks, *That through a conquering Man, that Nature ſhould aſcend*

[a] Eſt enim piiſſimus & miſericors Dominus, & amans humanum genus; hærere itaque fecit, & adunivit hominem Deo: ſi enim homo non viciſſet inimicum hominis, non juſtè victus eſſet inimicus; rurſus autem niſi Deus donâſſet ſalutem, non firmitèr haberemus eam, & niſi homo conjunctus fuiſſet Deo noſtro, non potuiſſet particeps fieri incorruptibilitatis; oportuerat enim mediatorem Dei & hominum per ſuam ad utroſque domeſticitatem & ad amicitiam & ad concordiam utroſque reducere, & facere ut & Deus aſſumeret hominem, & homo ſe dederet Deo. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 20. p. 211.

[b] Quemadmodum per hominem victum deſcendit in mortem genus noſtrum, ſic iterum per hominem victorem aſcendamus in vitam. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 18. p. 342.

aſcend into Life: And, as *Lactantius* obſerves, [a] *The Mediator was to be an Example of Virtue and Holineſs to his redeemed ones, which he could not be as God; wherefore he incarnated himſelf, to ſhew by his own conquering of the Deſires of the Fleſh, that the Commiſſion of Sin was not neceſſary, but voluntary, and by his own Pattern to encourage and enable us to overcome the Luſts thereof.*

[a] Si Deus tantùm fuiſſet, exempla virtutis homini præbere non poſſet;—ideò carne ſe induit, ut deſideriis carnis edomitis, doceret, non neceſſitatis eſſe peccare ſed propoſiti ac voluntatis. — Quibus ut repugnare poſſemus, Deus nobis viam ſuperandæ carnis & aperuit, & oſtendit. *Inſtitut. Lib.* 4. *c.* 25. p. 430, 431.

For theſe and ſeveral other reaſons therefore, the Son of God, out of his amazing and infinite Pity to us, became the Son of Man, not abhorring the Virgin's Womb, that he might accompliſh his gracious Deſign of redeeming miſerable and loſt Mankind: This is that divine *Philanthropy*, that aſtoniſhing effect of his Goodneſs and Mercy, which raviſhes the holy Angels, and cauſed thoſe harmonious Choriſters of Heaven to ſing at his coming into the World that triumphant Song, [b] *Glory be to God in the Higheſt, on the Earth Peace, and good Will towards Men.* But yet, ſuch is the degenerate and

[b] Luke ii. 14.

and corrupted Nature of Mankind, that ſeverals of them have disbelieved his Incarnation, and accounted it a mere Fancy and Conceit.

I need not here mention any of theſe in our Days, if there be any ſuch, ſince my Deſign leads me to the conſideration of the former Times of *Chriſtianity*, where there are too numerous Spectacles of thoſe who ſtumbled at this Rock of Offence, and from the very Age of the Apoſtles rejected this truth of the Incarnation; or, if they did not in words diſown it, yet by denying the true way and manner thereof, they did in effect diſown it: Wherefore, againſt ſuch a number and variety of Hereticks, and their diverſe Methods of aſſaulting this Doctrine, the Governours of the Church inſerted in the Creed whatſoever follows from our Saviour's *Conception* to his *Reſurrection*; the firſt Clauſe whereof is, *who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin* Mary.

Where the *Conception* and *Nativity* are clearly diſtinguiſhed, the former being aſcribed to the *Holy Ghoſt*, and the latter to the Virgin *Mary*; whereas in the generality of Creeds, as in thoſe of *Ruffinus*, *Petrus Chryſologus*, *Maximus Taurinenſis*, and others, they are

thus coupled together, [a] *who was born by the Holy Ghoſt of the Virgin* Mary. *Tertullian* indeed in one of his Creeds, diſtinctly mentions the [b] *Conception by the Holy Ghoſt, and his Birth of the Virgin* Mary; but after him, I do not find that any obſerved this Diſtinction till St. *Auſtin*, who writes, that in the Symbol *after our Belief in God the Father Almighty*, follows our Faith [c] *in* Jeſus Chriſt *his Son, who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin* Mary; but whether they expreſſed the Conception and Nativity diſtinctly or conjunctly, the ſame thing was intended by all.

[a] Qui natus eſt de Spiritu Sancto ex Mariâ Virgine.

[b] Delatum ex Spiritu Patris Dei, & virtute in Virginem Mariam, carnem factum in utero ejus, & ex eâ natum. *De Præſcript. adverſ. Hæret.* p. 73.

[c] In Jeſum Chriſtum Filium ejus, conceptum de Spiritu Sancto, natum ex Virgine Mariâ. *Tom* 6. *Conc. adverſ. Jud. Pag. & Arian.* p. 71.

Now the *Conception* of our Saviour by the *Holy Ghoſt*, and his being *born* of ſuch a Woman as was a *Virgin*, was probably deſigned againſt the *Ebionites*, *Cerinthians*, and ſuch like Hereticks, who allowed him indeed to be a Man, but denied his Incarnation in this manner; affirming, that he was conceived and born in the ſame way and manner as all other Men are, in the ordinary way

way of Generation, by the conjunction of *Joſeph* and *Mary*.

Thus *Ebion* taught, as *Epiphanius* informs us, That [a] *Chriſt was born of the Seed of Man, viz.* of *Joſeph*; as did alſo *Carpocrates*, who affirmed, that *Chriſt* was not [b] *begotten in an extraordinary way by the Almighty Operation of the Holy Ghoſt, in the Womb of a Virgin, but in the ordinary and common manner, by the two Sexes, in* Joſeph *and* Mary: And before either of theſe, *Cerinthus*, whoſe Hereſy was the occaſion of St. *John*'s writing his Goſpel, vented the ſame Blaſphemy, That *Jeſus Chriſt* being but a mere Man, and only excelling in Juſtice, Righteouſneſs, and Virtue, [c] *was not born of a Virgin, but by the Seed of* Joſeph.

[a] Ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνθρώπου, τυγχάνει δὲ Ἰωσὴφ, τὸν Χριστὸν γεγεννῆσθαι ἔλεγεν. *Adverſ. Hær. Ebion.* p. 59.

[b] Carpocrates dicit, —— Chriſtum non ex Virgine Mariâ natum, ſed ex ſemine Joſeph. *Tertull. de Præſcrip. adverſ. Hæret.* p. 94.

[c] Cerinthus — Chriſtum ex ſemine Joſeph natum proponit. *Id. ibid.* p. 94.

Wherefore, againſt theſe numerous Blaſphemers, this peculiar and extraordinary way of our Saviour's *Conception* and *Nativity*, was inſerted in the Creed, as is apparent from ſundry places in *Irenæus*; and amongſt them more eſpecially, from his oppoſing the Creed, wherein our Saviour is ſaid

[a] Τῷ ἐκ παρθένου γενέσθαι μόνῳ. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 2. p. 34.

[b] *De præscript. adverſ. Hæret.* p. 73.

[a] *to be born of a Virgin*, unto theſe and ſuch like Hereſies; which is likewiſe done by *Tertullian*, who repeats a Creed, wherein [b] *both our Saviour's Conception by the Holy Ghoſt, and his being born of the Virgin* Mary, are diſtinctly mentioned in contradiction to the *Cerinthians* and *Carpocratians:* Unto which may be added, that *Gennadius Maſſilienſis* in his Declaration of the Catholick Faith, expounds this Article in oppoſition to the *Ebionites*, after this manner, That [c] *although the Son of God was born of a Woman, yet it was not by the conjunction of a Man, as* Ebion *affirms*; but as the Creed directs us to believe, by the Almighty Operation of the Holy Ghoſt, who in an inviſible and unknown way ſupplied the place of a Father, and begat the Holy Child *Jeſus*, *in the Womb of the Virgin* Mary, *of whom he was really born, and from whom he received the true and real Subſtance of his Body.*

[c] Natus eſt ergo Dei Filius ex homine, & non per hominem, id eſt, non ex viri coitu, ſicut Ebion dicit, ſed carnem ex Virginis corpore trahens, & non de cœlo ſecum afferens, ſicut Marcion, &c. affirmant. *Inter Oper. Auguſt. Tom.* 3. *De Eccleſ. Dogmat.* p. 259.

Which latter Clauſe directs us to another end, for which our Saviour's being *born of the Virgin* Mary, was inſerted in the Creed, *viz.* to declare the place

place from whence he fetched the Fleſh and Matter of his Body, even from the Subſtance of the Virgin *Mary*; for, from the moſt early Days of *Chriſtianity*, the Devil excited a great number to blaſpheme the manner of *Chriſt*'s Incarnation in this reſpect.

Severals of them were conſtrained to acknowledge, that our Saviour had a Body, but they would not grant it to be a material fleſhly Body, formed of the Subſtance of his Mother, but they imagined it to be a kind of celeſtial, ſupernatural, or heavenly Body, as the *Valentinians*, who held, That his Body was framed in Heaven, and [a] *paſſed through the Virgin* Mary, *as Water through a Pipe:* Which Notion was alſo eſpouſed both by [b] *Baſilides* and *Marcion*, as *Athanaſius* aſſures us; concerning the latter of which the ſaid Father writes, That he believed, that God came down from Heaven, and [c] *dwelled or ſojourned in the Virgin, without participating of her Subſtance, being incapable to receive*

[a] Διὰ Μαρίας διοδεύσαντα καθάπερ ὕδωρ διὰ ϛωλῆνος. *Iren. l.* 1. *c.* 1. p. 22.

[b] Εἴπωμεν πρὸς Μαρκίωνα —— καὶ Βασιλείδην τὸν λέγοντα, ὡς διὰ ϛωλῆνος ὕδωρ παρεληλύθοι, τὸ κύριον, διὰ τῆς Μαρίας. *Tom.* 1. *cont. omnes Hæreſ.* p. 1083.

[c] Μαρκίων—Θεὸν ἐπιδημήσαντα εἰς παρθένον, καὶ ἀθιγῶς παρεληλυθότα καὶ ἀνεπιδέκτως ἔχοντα κοινωνῆσαι φύσει ἀνθρωπίνῃ τῇ ὑποπεπωκυίᾳ, τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ὑποκειμένῃ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς κακίας. *Tom.* 1. *de Salut. advent. Jeſ. Chriſt. adverſ. Apollinar.* p. 635.

ceive

ceive any thing from the nature of Man, that was fallen under Sin, and ſubjected to the Ruler of Wickedneſs: Which words afford us ſome light into the cauſe and reaſon of this Blaſphemy of the *Marcionites*, which ſeems to be this; Theſe Hereticks imagining in the firſt place, all Beings to be originally either ſubſtantially good or evil, could not in conſequence thereunto, as the the ſaid Father continues to write, conceive, [a] *how a good and holy* Chriſt *ſhould partake of our Natures, which are ſubſtantially evil, and yet preſerve himſelf free from Sin and Evil.* Wherefore, to untie, or rather cut this Knot, they fancied, That *Chriſt* brought with him a Body from Heaven, which returned to Heaven again, from whence it came, whilſt his Divinity remained whole and entire. And from the ſame occaſion alſo, it is more than propable, that the *Bardeſianiſts* fell into the ſame Hereſy, as *Marinus*, one of that Sect, endeavours to demonſtrate, from the [b] *abſurdity*, as he terms it, *of joining our Fleſh to his pure Eſſence; that* Chriſt *received*

[a] Εἰ γὰρ τούτῳ προστηγάγετο, καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντι τῆς κακίας ὑποκείσεται, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας ὁ Χριστός. *Ibid.* p. 635.

[b] Πάνυ ἀτοπώτατον, τοῦτο τῇ ἀρχεγόνῳ ὑσίᾳ προσάπτειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ γεγραφὰς ἀφθόνιον αὐτὸν φασὶ ζάρκα ἀνειληφέναι. Origen, Dial. 4. p. 105.

ceived none of his material Subſtance from the Fleſh of the Virgin, but that he aſſumed unto himſelf an heavenly Body, [a] *which paſſed through the Virgin* Mary, *as Water through a Pipe, without receiving any thing from her; wherefore* ſaith he, *we confeſs that he is born by* Mary, *but not of* Mary: From which latter words, it doth not only appear, that the *Birth* of *Chriſt* of the Virgin *Mary* was intended againſt the forementioned Hereticks, but that alſo there was a peculiar Emphaſis deſigned by this Expreſſion, ἐκ Μαρίας, or, *of Mary*, to obviate and exclude their heretical Senſe, who would own, That *Chriſt* was born διὰ Μαρίας, or *by Mary*, that is, that ſhe was the Organ or Inſtrument that he made uſe of for the exhibition of his heavenly Body to this inferiour World, cauſing it to paſs through her, as through a Channel or Pipe, without receiving any thing from her, whilſt they diſowned, that he was born ἐκ Μαρίας, or *of Mary*; that is, that he received his Body from her Fleſh and Subſtance, deriving the Matter thereof from her, in the ſame way and manner, as all other Children do.

[a] Ὁμολογοῦμεν, ὅτι διὰ Μαρίας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ Μαρίας· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὕδωρ διὰ σωλῆνος διέρχεται, μηδὲν παρὰ λαμβάνων, οὕτω καὶ ὁ λόγος διὰ Μαρίας καὶ οὐκ ἐκ Μαρίας. *Ibid.* p. 121.

But,

But, beſides the forenamed Hereticks, there was another ſtrange kind of Sect called *Apelleians*, ſo ſtyled from their Maſter *Apelles*, a Scholar of *Marcion*'s, who owned, that *Chriſt* had a real and material Body, but denied it to have been formed in the Virgin's Womb, or to have participated of any part of her Subſtance, inventing this new and unheard-of way for its compoſition: That when our [a] *our Saviour came down from Heaven unto Earth*, as *Epiphanius* relates it, *he fram'd unto himſelf a Body of the four Elements*, in the which he truly ſuffered and died; although *Tertullian* reports it ſomewhat otherwiſe of theſe *Apelleians*, that they [b] *aſſerted the Body of* Chriſt *to be made of the Stars, and of the Subſtance of the ſuperiour World*. But, whether the firſt or the laſt was their real Opinion, I ſhall not here enquire, ſeeing by either of them, they denied, that our Saviour aſſumed his Body from the Nature and Fleſh of his Virgin Mother.

[a] Ἐν τῷ ἔρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπουρανίων, ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν γλῶ, καὶ ζωήσαντο ἑαυτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων σῶμα. *Adverſ. Apel. Hæreſ.* 44. p. 167.

[b] De ſideribus, inquiunt, & de ſubſtantiis ſuperioris mundi mutuatus eſt carnem. *De carne Chriſti*, p. 15.

Now

Now againſt all theſe Hereticks, was our Saviour's being *born* of the Virgin *Mary*, deſignedly mentioned in the Creed, as is apparent from that [a] *Tertullian* oppoſes his Nativity to the forementioned Hereſy of the *Apelleians*: And the ſame is to be obſerved throughout the whole five Books of *Irenæus*, that Hammer and Scourge of all thoſe Primitive Hereſiarchs, and particularly throughout ſeveral Chapters of his third Book, where he excellently well proves the verity and neceſſity of *Chriſt*'s aſſuming his bodily Subſtance from the Fleſh of the Virgin; and then in the fortieth Chapter of the ſaid Book, he concludes with an elegant *Epiphonema*, *That all the various Blaſphemies of thoſe diverſe Hereticks were rejected and condemned by the Church, and declared againſt by her, and the contrary truth preſerved by all her Children, as a precious Depoſitum and moſt ſacred Treaſury.* Unto which may be added the Expoſition of this Article by *Gennadius Maſſilienſis*, who applies it not only againſt the *Ebionites*, but that alſo [b] *contrary to the opinion of* Marcion, *he derived his Body from the Fleſh of the Virgin*,

[a] *In lib. de carn. Chriſt.*

[b] Natus eſt—ex homine—carnem ex Virginis corpore trahens, & non de cœlo ſecum afferens. *Inter Oper. Auguſt. Tom.* 3. *De Eccleſ. Dogmat.* p. 259.

gin, and did not bring it from Heaven with him.

But the *Birth* of *Chriſt* of the Virgin *Mary*, was not only employed by the Compoſers of the Creed to expreſs the Subject from whence he derived the Matter and Subſtance of his Body, but alſo to aſſert the reality and certainty of his Body; that it was not fantaſtical and imaginary, but ſubſtantial and real; under which Notion, it may be conſidered in conjunction with our Saviour's *Paſſion*, *Crucifixion*, *Death* and *Burial*, which were all introduced to exclude thoſe Hereſies, and the Abettors of them, who maintained, That the Incarnation of *Chriſt* was not true and real, but only in appearance and ſhew, a meer Deluſion and cheating Impreſſion on our Senſes; which will not only appear from what ſhall be hereafter ſaid under each of thoſe Particulars, but alſo from the various manner of expreſſing theſe Acts of Humiliation in the ancient Creeds: In both of the Creeds of [a] *Irenæus*, the *Paſſion* is alone put to ſignify his *Sufferings*, *Crucifixion*, *Death* and *Burial*: In two of [b] *Tertullian*'s, the *Crucifixion* by it ſelf, doth the ſame; and generally our Lord's *Crucifixion* comprehended his *Paſſion*, and his *Burial* included his *Death*; as it is in the Creeds

[a] *Lib.* 1. *c.* 2. p. 34. *lib.* 3. *c.* 4. p. 172.

[b] *De Præſcrip. adverſ. Hær.* p. 73. *De Virgin. Veland.* p. 385.

Creeds of *Leo Magnus*, *Ruffinus*, *Petrus Chryſologus*, *Maximus Taurinenſis*, and others: And ſometimes on the contrary, his *Paſſion* contained his *Crucifixion*, as in a Creed of [a] *Origen*'s; and his *Death* comprehended his *Burial*, as in the Creed of [b] *Ignatius*: Which variety of Expreſſion naturally leads us to this concluſion, That ſeeing theſe terms did mutually include or infer each other, and either of them were indifferently mentioned, that therefore they were primarily intended for one and the ſame thing; which, as it will be proved, was to declare, that the Body of *Chriſt* was real, true, and material.

[a] *In Prœm. lib.* περὶ ἀρχῶν.

[b] *Epiſt. ad Tralleſ.* p. 52.

The firſt Creed, wherein they are expreſſed all four together, is a Creed of St. *Auſtin*'s, who mentions them according to our preſent Form, [c] *ſuffered under* Pontius Pilate, *was crucified, dead and buried*; from whom, as it is probable, the Compilers of our Creed received it, who judged not one of theſe Particulars to be a ſuperfluous oppoſition to this Hereſy, but all of them neceſſary, ſince they were each of them particularly impugned and denied, and were moſt fit and proper to confute and gainſay theſe ſottiſh and blaſphemous Hereticks.

[c] Paſſus ſub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus mortuus, & ſepultus. *De Fid. & Symbol. Tom.* 3. p. 182.

That

That this abominable Tenet was ſubverſive of the whole Goſpel, the Primitive Writers againſt thoſe falſe Doctors have abundantly ſhewn; ſufficient whereof may be ſeen in the remaining Works of *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and *Epiphanius*, wherein it is clearly demonſtrated, That if *Chriſt* had been incarnated and ſuffered only in ſhew and appearance, he had been the greateſt Deceiver and Liar that ever was in the World; his Murderers would have been excus'd, and freed from that moſt horrid and enormous Crime; he could not poſſibly have been the Saviour of Mankind, neither ſhould we have been at all obliged to him, but ſhould have been moſt miſerably cheated and deluded by him; and it would be our greateſt folly to ſuffer for his ſake, who only pretended to have ſo done for ours.

Theſe being then the natural and tremendous conſequences of this horrid and portentous Opinion, it ſeems almoſt incredible that any ſhould ever have entertained or believed it: But the primitive Records contain too numerous Spectacles of ſuch unhappy and miſguided Souls, who even at the dawning and firſt appearance of the Goſpel-Sun, endeavoured to obſcure it by theſe black and ſulphureous Vapours; the Incarnation

tion of our Saviour was no ſooner preached, but it was almoſt as quickly denied, and that not only by *Heathens* and *Foreigners*, but even by thoſe who pretended to be his Diſciples and Followers: Unto whom it is probable, St. *John* refers in his [a] *General Epiſtle*, where he writes, That *there were then in the World certain Antichriſtian Spirits, who would not confeſs that* Jeſus Chriſt *was come in the Fleſh*; which ungodly Spirits were without doubt the *Gnoſticks*, who, though crumbled amongſt themſelves into innumerable Sects and Diviſions, yet univerſally agreed in denying the truth and reality of our Saviour's Body, affirming it to have been fantaſtical and imaginary, only in ſhew and appearance; from whence they were called *Docetæ*, Δοκηταὶ, and *Phantaſiaſtæ*, Φανταστιαστὰι, the Father of all whom was *Simon Magus*, [b] *who taught, that he was* Chriſt; *and that in the time of* Tiberius *he appeared in ſhew, in the Perſon of the Son*: Now that which *Simon Magus* aſſerted of himſelf, when he imagined himſelf to be the Son, other ſucceeding Hereticks affirmed it of the Son himſelf;

[a] 1 John iv. 2, 3.

[b] Aſſerebat ſe eſſe Chriſtum, — tempore Tiberii in Filii perſonâ putativè apparuiſſe. *Aug. de Hæreſ. c.* 1. p. 49.

himself; as [a] *Menander*, his immediate Follower and Disciple, *Cerdon*, *Marcion*, with [b] *Saturninus*, *Basilides*, and others, who all affirmed, *That* Christ *had no substantial Flesh, but that his Body was a mere Phantasm and Apparition, which was neither really born, nor truly suffered.* I might add the Names of several other Hereticks, who embraced this same unhappy Opinion; but to endeavour the enumeration of them all, would be too tedious and burdensom, seeing from the very first promulgation of the Gospel, throughout an uninterrupted series of several Generations, there ceased not to be some or others under the Names of *Simonians*, *Valentinians*, *Manichees*, and the like, who did blasphemously deny and ridicule this necessary and fundamental Point, That *Jesus Christ* is manifested in real and substantial Flesh.

The unconstrained consequences therefore of this Heresy being so hideous, and the Abettors thereof so numerous, and appearing under various Shapes and divers Forms, it is no wonder that the Compilers

[a] Μένανδρον, Κέρδωνα, καὶ Μαρκίωνα παντάπασιν ἀρνεῖσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν πάθη. *Theodoret. Tom.* 3. *Epist.* 145.

[b] Saturninus dicit Christum in substantiâ corporis non fuisse, & Phantasmate tantùm quasi passum fuisse. *Tertull. de præscript. adverss. Hæret. p.* 93.

[c] Basilides—dicit—Christum venisse in Phantasmate, sine substantiâ carnis fuisse. *Id ibid.* p. 93.

Compilers of the Creed introduced ſo many terms in oppoſition thereunto.

Now that the *Birth* of our Saviour was intended for this End, is evident from the Creed of *Ignatius*, wherein, in contradiction to theſe *fantaſtical* Hereticks, he expreſſeth this Article, not ſimply by *Chriſt*'s being born, but by his being [a] *truly born of the Virgin* Mary; and in the beginning of his Epiſtle to the *Smyrnæans*, he [b] *glorifies God for their firmneſs in the immoveable Faith, that* Chriſt *was truly of the Seed of* David *according to the Fleſh, and truly born of a Virgin*; unto which may be ſubjoined, that in a Creed of *Origen*'s this Article is expreſſed, by our Lord's being [c] *born in Truth and not in Appearance.*

[a] Ἐκ Μαρίας ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη. *Epiſt. ad Tralleſ.* p. 52.

[b] Δοξάζω τὸν Θεὸν, —— ἐνόησα γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡγιασμένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πίστει —— εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, ἀληθῶς ὄντα ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα —— γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παρθένου. p. 1, 2.

[c] Natus —— eſt in veritate, & non per imaginem. *In Proœm. lib.* περὶ ἀρχῶν.

That our Saviour's Paſſion was likewiſe introduced for the ſame deſign, as having been particularly attack'd by the formentioned Hereticks, is alſo evident from the forecited Creeds of [d] *Ignatius* and [e] *Origen*, in both of which this Clauſe runs,

[d] Ἀληθῶς ἐδιώχθη ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου. *Epiſt. ad Tralleſ.* p. 52.

[e] Paſſus eſt in veritate, & non per imaginem. *Ibid. ut antea.*

runs, *That he truly and not imaginarily ſuffered under* Pontius Pilate; and from that other fore-quoted place of *Ignatius*, wherein he bleſſeth God for the *Smyrnæans*, that they firmly adhered to the immoveable Faith, that *Chriſt* [a] *truly ſuffered, and not as ſome Unbelievers affirm, that he only ſuffered reputatively and according to outward appearance*; and from the Comment of St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* on this Article, which is, That [b] Jeſus *ſuffered truly for all Men; for his Croſs was not in opinion, nor his Redemption in opinion, nor his Death in opinion.* And indeed, the Paſſion of *Chriſt* is ſo convincing an Argument of the reality of his Incarnation, that it is ſurprizing how any could poſſibly withſtand the force thereof; for to affirm with the [c] *Saturnilians*, [d] *Baſilidians*, and others, That *Chriſt* ſuffered only in fancy and ſhew, was a poor and moſt ridiculous Evaſion; at which rate, a Man may argue againſt thoſe things that can be proved by the moſt ſenſible and viſible Demonſtrations.

[a] Καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν, ὡς ὥσπερ ἄπιστοί τινες λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι. p. 2.

[b] Ἔπαθεν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀλήθειαν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὃ γὰρ δόκησις ὁ σωτὴρ, οὐδὲ δόκησις ἡ λύτρωσις, ὃ φαντασιώδης ὁ θάνατος. *Catech.* 13. p. 122.

[c] *Tertull. de Præſcript. adverſ. Hæret.* p. 93.

[d] *Idem Ibid.*

When *Marinus* the *Bardeſianiſt*, affirmed in the *Dialogues* of *Origen*, that our Saviour thus ſuffered; his Antagoniſt *Adamantius* thus cloſely replies upon him: [a] *If* Chriſt *ſuffered only in the opinion of Men, and not in reality, then* Herod *judged him in opinion, and* Pilate *waſhed his Hands in opinion, and* Judas *betrayed him in opinion, and* Caiaphas *adjured him in opinion, and the* Jews *ſeized him in opinion, and the Apoſtles were only in opinion, and his Blood was ſhed in opinion, and the Evangeliſts preached the Goſpel in opinion, and he came down from Heaven in Opinion, and in opinion returned thither again; and in a word, the Salvation of Men is only in opinion, and not in truth and certainty.* Now as no Man would be ſo abſurd and unreaſonable, as to aſcribe all this to opinion and fancy, ſo it ſhews a moſt wilful perverſeneſs and obſtinacy for any Man to aſcribe only one particular act thereto, when he eſteems others in the ſame circumſtances to be undoubted and real; if the Actions of *Caiaphas*, *Herod* and *Pilate*, relating

[a] Εἰ δοκήσει, καὶ οὐκ ἀληθείᾳ πέπονθε, δοκήσει ὁ Ἡρῴδης δικάζει, δοκήσει Πιλάτος ἀπονίπτεται τὰς χεῖρας, δοκήσει καὶ Ἰούδας παρέδωκε, δοκήσει ὁ Ἰουδαῖοι καλέσχον αὐτὸν, δοκήσει, καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, δοκήσει καὶ τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐξεχύθη, δοκήσει καὶ οἱ Εὐαγγελισταὶ Εὐαγγελίζονται, δοκήσει καὶ ἐλήλυθεν ἀπ' οὐρανῶν, ὁ δοκήσει ἀνῆλθε, δοκήσει ἡ καὶ ἡ σωτηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὐκ ἀληθείᾳ *Dialog.* 4. p. 109, 110.

to our Saviour's Paſſion, were true and ſubſtantial, it was very unfair to deny the Paſſion it ſelf ſo to be, ſeeing it was equally attended with the ſame ocular and viſible Demonſtrations: wherefore, the Fathers well underſtanding the ſtrength of this Argument, frequently prove the certainty of the Incarnation from the Paſſion, as is to be ſeen in the works of *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and others; and that all Cavils might be prevented, and all Pretences be removed, as if it were a doubtful and uncertain Tradition, the Compilers of the Creed have taken care to expreſs the time of the Paſſion therein, *viz.* that it was under *Pontius Pilate*.

This is the obſervation of *Ruffinus*, That the [a] *framers of the Creed have moſt cautiouſly mention'd the time of the Paſſion, that it was under* Pontius Pilate, *leſt in any manner of way it ſhould be reputed a wandring and uncertain Tale:* And indeed, the ſollicitous exactneſs of the ancient Churches is very remarkable herein, ſince there is ſcarce any Creed extant, wherein our Saviour's Sufferings are not expreſſly mentioned to have been under *Pontius Pilate*, that

[a] Cautiſſimè autem qui Symbolum tradiderunt, etiam tempus quo hæc ſub Pontio Pilato geſta ſunt, deſignaverunt, ne ex aliquâ parte velut vaga & incerta geſtorum traditio vacillaret. *Expoſ. in Symb.* §. 20. p. 570.

that is, at that time when *Pontius Pilate* was Procurator, or Governour of *Judæa*, wherein the Creed obſerves the manner of Calculation then uſed; for as in thoſe Days, they made their computations by their Governours, and referred their hiſtorical Events to the reſpective time of their Government, ſo the Paſſion of our Saviour is here referred to the Government of *Pontius Pilate*; who, as [a] *Juſtin Martyr*, with others, informs us, was *Procurator* of *Judæa*, ſent thither by the Emperour *Tiberius* to exerciſe that Office, which chiefly conſiſted in the receiving and diſpoſing of the publick Tribute and Revenue, being in ſubordination to the Governour of *Syria*, part of whoſe Province *Judæa* was; with whom, nevertheleſs, he received from the Emperour power of Life and Death within his peculiar Diſtrict and Juriſdiction.

[a] Ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἡγουμένου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐπὶ χρόνοις Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐπιτρόπου. *Apol* 2. p. 60.

But unto the Paſſion of our Saviour in general, there is added in the Creed the particular manner thereof, *viz.* that it was by *Crucifixion*, that he was publickly lifted up on a Croſs, and being nailed thereunto, hung between Heaven and Earth in an open and viſible place, where all the Spectators might, with-

out any deluſion of their Senſes, eaſily know that he was a Man, and that he was that very Man who was commonly known by the name of *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*, and not *Simon* the *Cyrenian*, as *Baſilides* and his Followers blaſphemouſly imagined; concerning whom, the Primitive Records have left us this account, That they [a] *affirmed*, Chriſt *did not ſuffer at all*; *but that* Simon *of* Cyrene, *the bearer of his Croſs*, *being taken by the* Jews *for him*, *ſuffered in his ſtead*, *whilſt he ſtood by*, *and laughed at their folly and miſtake*; *from whence they farther affirmed*, *that we muſt not believe on him who was really crucified*, *but on him who ſeemed ſo to be.* Which horrid Opinion being an evident ſubverſion of the Goſpel, and a total deſtruction of the very Foundation of Chriſtianity, it is no wonder, that to declare our Faith that *Jeſus Chriſt* was *crucified*, as well as that a true and real Man ſo ſuffered, the Compilers of the Creed inſerted this Clauſe therein, that every true Believer might at once yield his aſſent hereunto, that it was a real Man, and that it was really *Jeſus* of *Nazareth*

[a] Παθεῖν τ̃ Χριστὸν ἀδαμῶς λέγει, ἀλλὰ Σίμωνα τ̃ Κυρηναῖον ὑπομεῖναι τὸ πάθος, νομισθέντα εἶναι Χριστὸν, τ̃ τ̃ Χριστὸν πόρρωθεν ὁρῶντα, γελᾶν τ̃ Ἰουδαίων τ̃ ἀπάτην,—— χρῆναι τ̃ πιστεύειν ἔλεγεν ἀκ εἰς τ̃ ἐσταυρωμένον, ἀλλ' εἰς τ̃ ἐσταυρῶσθαι δόξαντα. *Theodoret. Epit. Har. Fab. lib.* 1. *in Hareſ. Baſilid.* p. 87.

reth who was *crucified* by the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem:* in a conformity to which Interpretation, *Ignatius* thus expreſſes this Article in his Creed, That he [a] *was truly crucified*; and where *Epiphanius* largely explains the Creed, he gives this ſenſe of the preſent Article, that he [b] *ſuffered in truth upon the Croſs.*

[a] Ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη. *Epiſt. ad Tralleſ.* p. 52.

[b] Παθὼν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ. *Adverſ. Hæreſ. lib.* 3. *in Compend. Fid. Cathol.* p. 463.

But leſt it might be by any one ſuppoſed or imagined, that the Eyes of the Beholders were cheated by a deluſion and pretended Crucifixion, or that by Witchcraft, Sorcery, the diſtance of the Object, diſturbance of the Air by wrong Mediums, or any ſuch like way, their Sight might be ſo far deceived and impoſed upon, as to apprehend him who was nailed unto the Croſs, to be a true and ſubſtantial Man, whilſt he was no other than an imaginary Appearance, and a mere Chimæra: It is farther inſerted in the Creed, That our Lord was not only crucified, but that he was alſo *dead*; when on the one hand, being deprived of all vital operation, he could not by Magick or any other Tricks deceive them; and on the other hand, they themſelves without any impediment or hindrance, might freely employ

employ all their Senſes to ſearch into the certainty and reality of his bodily Subſtance, and eaſily diſcover his Deluſion and Cheat, if any ſuch there were: Wherefore *Ignatius* doth in his Creed thus mention this Clauſe, That he [a] *truly died; the heavenly, earthly, and infernal Inhabitants beholding it:* And *Origen* in his Creed thus expreſſeth it, That he [b] *truly died our common Death.*

[a] Ἀληθῶς, — ἀπέθανεν, βλεπόντων τούτων ἐπουρανίων, ἐπιγείων, καὶ ὑποχθονίων, *Epiſt. ad Tralleſ.* p. 52.

[b] Communem hanc mortem verè mortuus eſt. *In Proœm. lib.* περὶ ἀρχῶν.

Now there may be ſeveral reaſons alledged, for which the Death of *Chriſt* is placed in the Creed, and there employed to prove his Incarnation; of which I ſhall mention but one, that is urged to very good purpoſe by *Tertullian* againſt the *Marcionites*, and other aſſertors of a fantaſtical and imaginary Incarnation; the ſum whereof is this, that the whole Goſpel is ſubverted, or is an unprofitable Fable and Whimſy, if *Chriſt* did not die; and *Chriſt* could not die, if he had not had real and ſubſtantial Fleſh: For, as the ſaid Father writes, by the blaſphemous Imaginations that our Saviour's Body was only in ſhew and appearance, [a] *the*

[a] *the whole work of God is overturned, the entire weight and fruit of Chriſtianity, even the Death of* Chriſt, *is denied, which the Apoſtle ſo expreſſly aſſerts to be true, conſtituting it the chief Foundation of the Goſpel, of our Salvation and his Preaching; for, ſaith he, I delivered unto you firſt of all, that* Chriſt *died for our Sins according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he roſe again the third Day according to the Scriptures: Now if if his Fleſh be denied, how can his his Death be aſſerted? which relates to Fleſh returning into the ground, from whence it was taken, according to the Law of its Author.*

[a] Everſum eſt totum Dei opus, totum Chriſtiani nominis & pondus & fructus, mors Chriſti negatur, quam tam impreſsè Apoſtolus demandat, utique veram, ſummum eam fundamentum evangelii conſtituens & ſalutis noſtræ & prædicationis ſuæ; tradidi enim, inquit, vobis inprimis quòd, &c. Porrò ſi caro ejus negatur, quo modo mors ejus aſſeveratur? quæ propria carnis eſt paſſio devertentis in terram, de quâ eſt ſumpta ſecundùm legem ſui Autoris. *Adverſ. Marcion. lib.* 3. p. 171.

By the *Death* of *Chriſt*, is ſignified the ſeparation of his Soul and Body, by which the vital Union being diſſolved, he was in a perfect incapacity to perform any living Actions: [b] *Death*, ſaith *Ambroſe, is the ſeceſſion or diviſion of Soul*

[b] Mors ſeceſſio quædam eſt animæ & corporis. *Tom.* 4. *de* Cain & Abel, *lib.* 1. *c.* 2. p. 116.

and

and Body; and ſo *Athanaſius* makes the formality of Death to conſiſt [a] *in the diſjunction or ſeparation of the Soul and Body*: after which, each of thoſe two eſſential Parts of Man goes to its proper and appointed place, the one to the Grave, and the other to the inviſible receptacle of departed Souls; according to which univerſal Law of Nature our Saviour died, that is, there was a ſeparation of his Soul and Body; and then, according to the manner and cuſtom of all Mankind, his Body was committed to the Grave, and his Soul went unto the Dwelling and Habitation of ſeparated Spirits; both of which immediately follow in the Creed, the former in the term *Buried*, and the latter in this Clauſe, *he deſcended into Hell*.

[a] Ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος χωρισμός. *Tom.* 1. *de ſalut. advent. Jeſ. Chriſt.* p. 647.

Now, as for the *Burial* of our Saviour's Body, that as well as the precedent Clauſes, was alſo introduced againſt thoſe Hereticks, who impugned the reality thereof; this being a moſt ſenſible and undeniable demonſtration, that he had a material and ſubſtantial Body, ſeeing any one might then have both felt and ſeen, that what was buried, was real and certain, and that it could

could be no other than a true Body of Fleſh, which was committed to the Grave; for, as *Theodoret* well obſerves againſt theſe Hereticks, The [a] *Burial of our Saviour was a ſufficient confutation of them: for it was neither his Soul nor his Godhead which the Grave received; but his Body; for Graves are prepared for Bodies:* In which ſenſe, this Article is generally applied by the Primitive Commentators on the Creed, as by *Epiphanius*, who writes, That hereby we are obliged to believe, that [b] *his Body was buried in truth, remaining without a Soul three Days, void of Breath and Motion, wrap'd in a Linen Cloth, laid in a Tomb, and ſecured by a Stone, and the Seals of thoſe who rolled it on*; and by *Maximus Taurinenſis* to the ſame purpoſe; that our Saviour's Burial [c] *declared him to be truly dead*; not much unlike to which, *Petrus Chryſologus* ſaith hereon, That [d] *the Confeſſion of the Burial of our Savi-*

[a] Αὐτὸς ὁ τάφος ἀπέχρη τὸ ζητούμενον λύσαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ ψυχὴ ἐδεδίδου τάφῳ, οὐδὲ θεότης, — τοῖς σώμασιν οἱ τάφοι καταστρώζονται. *Dialog.* 3. Ἀπάθ. p. 62.

[b] Τῷ σώματι ταφέντος ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἀψύχως μείναντος τὸ τεταμευμένον, ἄπνους καὶ ἀκινήτως, ἐνειλημένος διὰ τὸ σινδόνος, καταθεθέντος ἐν τῷ μνήματι, συγκλεισθέντος διὰ τῆς λίθου καὶ σφραγίδος τῶν ἐπιθεθέντων. *Anacephal.* p. 531.

[c] Sepultus eſt, ut qui verè mortuus, &c. *In Symb. Hom.* p. 239.

[d] Sepultum dicis, ut veram carnem Chriſti, mortemque non perfunctoriam probet confeſſio ſepulturæ. *In Symbol. Serm.* 60. p. 65.

our,

our, proves that he aſſumed true Fleſh, and that he really died.

So that after our Saviour's Expiration on the Croſs, and the Diſſolution of the vital Union between Body and Soul, that he might in every thing become like unto us, (Sin only excepted) and by his perſonal Endurance ſanctify every ſtate and condition to all his Members, he permitted his Body, like unto ours, to be buried in a Grave, and committed to the Earth, whilſt his Soul fled to the inviſible receptacle of diſunited Spirits and ſeparated Souls, which is contained under the following Article, *he deſcended into Hell*, and will be the Subject of the enſuing Chapter.



CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Deſcent of our Saviour into Hell, was never queſtioned by any: Differences in the Explication thereof: The Moderation of the Church *of* England *herein. This Article relates,* Firſt, *Something done by* Chriſt's *Soul, which excludes the Burial of his Body from being deſigned thereby; and,* Secondly, *Something done by his Soul in its ſeparate ſtate, excluſive of the Sufferings thereof, whilſt he was alive: No exact agreement in the Notions of the Primitive Writers hereabouts: The explication of the word* Hell *or* Hades, *as it is in the* Greek: *No one Word in the modern* Engliſh, French *or* Dutch, *comprehenſive of the full ſignification thereof:* Hell *in old* Engliſh, *exactly anſwers to the* Greek Hades, *which properly ſignifies the habitation or receptacle of all ſeparated human Souls, whether good or bad: The* Pagans, *from whom the propriety of any* Greek *or* Latin *word is to be fetched, underſtood it in this ſenſe: The modern, or at leaſt*

the ancient Jews, *placed all ſeparated Souls in Hell: The* Primitive Chriſtians *affirmed, That all good Souls immediately after their ſeparation from the Body, paſſed into a place of Joy and Happineſs, which they termed* Hell, *as is at large proved. In the declenſion of the* Greek, *and chiefly of the* Latin *Tongue, the word* Hell *began to be ſolitarily applied to the Manſion of departed wicked Souls:* Origen *amongſt the* Greeks, *doubted of the Paſſage of faithful Souls into Hell, ſince the Reſurrection of* Chriſt: *But after him, the ancient Doctrine, that all Souls go to Hell, and remain there till the Reſurrection-Day, generally prevailed in the* Eaſt, *home to this very Day:* Ambroſe, *and after him* Jerome, *and others, entertained the ſame notion in the* Weſt, *as* Origen *had in the* Eaſt: Auſtin *was uncertain and wavering in his apprehenſions hereof: The receſſion from the ancient Opinion, occaſioned by the mutation of Languages and Words: The word* Hell *in the Apoſtolick ſenſe, could not according to the propriety of Speech, ſignify any other thing, than the ſtate or place*

of

of ſeparated human Souls, whether good or bad. The meaning of the word deſcended; *it ſometimes only ſignifies a ſimple Removal from one place to another: Uſed in the Creed, becauſe it was a popular kind of Speech ariſing from the common opinion, that Hell was in the Bowels of the Earth, or under the Earth; from whence it was called by the* Latins Infernum, *and by the* Greeks Hades, *and the like: Some of the Fathers imagined* Hell *to be in the heart of the Earth, others under the Earth; and ſome were uncertain of the ſituation thereof, but all apprehended it to be the common Lodge of departed Souls; and in a conformity to the common Dialect, uſually termed the Paſſage thither a* deſcent into Hell, *as in this Article of the Creed; by which they meant no other, than that our Saviour's Soul being ſeparated from his Body, went by a local motion to the unſeen Habitation of departed Souls, where it remained till his Reſurrection-Day: Which is farther proved from the ends of his going thither; which were chiefly theſe four:* Firſt, *To ſanctify unto*

his Followers the ſtate and place of their Souls, during their ſeparation from their Bodies: Secondly, *That he might undergo a neceſſary and principal part of his Humiliation:* Thirdly, *That he might perſonally, and as the Head of his Church, conquer Death and Hell, which he did by returning therefrom, and bringing the Souls of ſeveral of the Faithful with him: And,* Fourthly, *That he might ſubject himſelf unto the Laws of Death, and be in every thing like unto us: From whence it more evidently appears, that the* Deſcent *of Chriſt* into Hell *ſignifies no other, than the paſſage of his Spirit unto the receptacle of ſeparated Souls. The occaſion of inſerting this Clauſe in the Creed, taken from the* Arians, Eunomians, *and* Apollinarians, *who in a more cunning way than the former Hereticks, aſſaulted the humanity of our Saviour, by denying that he had a reaſonable Soul: The difference between the Error of the* Arians *and* Apollinarians *herein, proved, that the* Arians, *or at leaſt ſome of them, with the* Eunomians, *held, That* Chriſt's *Body was void*

of a rational Soul: But that which render'd this Hereſy the more conſiderable and dangerous, was the eſpouſing of it by Apollinarius *the Younger, the moſt noted Perſon of his Age for Ability and Piety; on which account, his Fall was a very tender and ſenſible loſs to the Church: The time when he vented his Hereſy, which was, that* Chriſt *had no human Soul, but that his Divinity ſupplied the place thereof: The conſequences of which Opinion are inſtanced in ſeveral particulars. In oppoſition whereunto, this Clauſe was inſerted in the Creed,* he deſcended into Hell: *Which Point was pitch'd upon by the Governours of the Church, becauſe of all the Arguments uſed againſt the* Apollinariſts, *it was the moſt unanſwerable: On which account, it is frequently urged by the Fathers againſt them, and it falls in moſt naturally with the Frame of the Creed, without diſturbing the Order thereof: The Time of the Introduction of this Article: The firſt publick Catholick Creed, wherein it is found, is that of* Aquileia, *recorded by* Ruffinus, *though before*

that in a private Creed of Epiphanius, *and even before him in a Creed framed by a Party of* Arians *at the Council of* Ariminum, *held* Anno 359. *Several probable Deſigns of thoſe* Arians *herein, as to clear themſelves from the ſuſpicion of the forementioned Hereſy, to diſgrace their great Antagoniſt* Apollinarius, *and by that means to create Feuds and Quarrels amongſt the Orthodox; who, finding* Apollinarius *openly to declare for his Hereſy, entirely abandoned him, condemned him in ſeveral Synods; and at length, according to the Example of the* Arians, *inſerted in the Creed this Antidote againſt his Hereſy, That* Chriſt deſcended into Hell: *Which in the* Aquileian *Creed is expreſſed in a greater Latitude, by deſcending into the lower Parts, wherein the* Burial *might be comprehended and deſigned: But as it is expreſſed in the* Roman, *or our preſent Creed, it can have no other than the forementioned ſignification; which, to prevent Miſtakes, is again repeated.*

WE

WE are at length arrived to that famous Article of our Saviour's *Deſcent into Hell:* The truth whereof was never denied or queſtioned by any; for the holy Scriptures do ſo expreſſly aſſert it, eſpecially that Text of St. *Peter*, cited from the *Pſalmiſt*, [a] *Thou ſhalt not leave my Soul in Hell; neither wilt thou ſuffer thine Holy One to ſee Corruption*; that as St. *Auſtin* affirms, [b] *none but an Infidel will deny it*. But, that which hath rendered this Article ſo noted and obſervable, are the various Senſes and different Significations that have been given of it: The particulars whereof are ſo multiplied, that I ſhall not here go about to enumerate them.

[a] Acts ii. 24.

[b] Quis ergo niſi infidelis negaverit fuiſſe apud inferos Chriſtum? *Tom.* 2. *ad Euod. Epiſt.* 99 p. 502.

In the Articles of Religion, ſet forth in the Days of King *Edward* the *Sixth*, this *Deſcent* of our Saviour *into Hell*, was expounded by the *going of his Soul unto the Spirits who were in Priſon*, or, *in Hell, where he preached to them*. But in a Synod ten Years after, in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, when the Articles of the Church were framed, which are now ſubſcribed, as Dr. *Fuller* informs us in the ninth Book of his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, the *De-*

ſcent into Hell was barely mentioned, without any explication of the manner thereof; the Compilers of thoſe Articles judging it imprudent and unreaſonable, to impoſe upon others any Explanation whatſoever of a Point ſo intricate and obſcure, leaving every Man in love and charity to embrace that ſenſe thereof which ſeemed to him moſt genuine and proper; wherein the Moderation of the *Church* of *England* cannot be ſufficiently praiſed, and is a moſt worthy Pattern unto all others in the like caſes, that they impoſe not their particular and private Expoſitions of a perplexed and obſcure Doctrine as Articles of Faith, and Terms of Communion. Seeing therefore, that ſuch worthy Perſons as the Compoſers of the forementioned Articles, have left every one to his liberty, to pitch upon that Interpretation of this Article which he eſteems to be moſt natural and eaſy; it cannot be any way culpable in me, to make an Eſſay towards the Explication thereof: Which that I may the more effectually do, I ſhall proceed by degrees; and *Firſt* obſerve, that what is ſpoken herein concerning our Lord's *Deſcent into Hell*, relates to his Soul alone. As the diſpo-

ſal

ſal of his dead Body had been before declared in the *term Buried*, ſo now there follows ſomething in the Creed reſpecting ſolitarily and peculiarly his Soul, or Spirit; for the proof whereof, I need not ſay much in this place, ſeeing it will be fully confirmed by the whole enſuing part of this Chapter. But yet, that I may not affirm any thing without a direct and immediate Proof, this will be moſt evident from the conſideration of the uſe that the Orthodox made of this Point againſt that Hereſy of the *Gnoſticks*, by which they [a] *denied the Salvation of the Body, and that at Death their Souls aſcended above the Heaven unto their determinated place, from whence they ſhall no more return unto their Bodies*; for againſt this Notion and Opinion they ſtrongly argued, That it was *an overturning the Order of the Reſurrection, a denial of our Lord's deſcent into Hell, and by conſequence of all his Followers; who, according to the Scriptures of truth, muſt firſt go thither before they can be admitted to the perfect Frui-*

[a] Non ſuſcipientes ſalutem carnis ſuæ — ſimulatque mortui fuerint, dicunt ſe ſupergredi cœlum, — ad matrem, — nec ordinem reſurrectionis ſciunt, nolentes intelligere, — quemadmodum, — Dominus, — tribus diebus converſatus eſt, ubi erant mortui, — diſcipulorum — animæ abibunt in inviſibilem locum, — uſque ad reſurrectionem, — poſt recipientes corpora, — venient ad conſpectum Dei. *Iren. lib.* 5. *c.* 26. p. 356.

Fruition of the ever bleſſed God: Unto which convincing Argument, theſe Hereticks could frame no other Reply, than [a] *that the Body was the Hell of the Soul, and that* Chriſt's *being in his Body here on Earth, was his deſcent into Hell; from the Pains whereof he was ſet free, when by Death he was delivered from his Body:* From whence it is moſt apparent, that the *Deſcent into Hell* is to be underſtood alone of our Saviour's Soul.

[a] Dicunt inferos quidem eſſe hunc mundum, qui ſit ſecundùm nos; interiorem autem hominem ipſorum derelinquentem hîc corpus, in ſupercœleſtem aſcendere locum. *Id. Ibid.* p. 356.

For the farther proof whereof, I might cite St *Jerome*, who writes, That it [b] *was the Soul of* Chriſt *which went into Hell*; as alſo [c] *Epiphanius*, [d] *Ambroſe*, [e] *Origen*, [f] *Athanaſius*, with many others, who all apply this Action of our Saviour's to his *Soul* alone; employing for this end that Text of the Apoſtle, cited by him from the *Pſalmiſt*, on which this Article is principally founded, [g] *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, neither wilt thou ſuffer thine Holy One to ſee Corruption*; where, by

[b] Anima ejus deſcendit in infernum. *Tom.* 5. *Com. in* 13 *cap. Oſe.* p. 74.

[c] *Anchorat.* p. 484.

[d] *Tom.* 2. *de Incar. Dom. Sacram. c.* 5. p. 181.

[e] *Vol.* 2. *Com. in Johan. Tom.* 32. p. 419.

[f] *Tom.* 1. *de Incarn. Chriſt. adverſ. Apollinar.* p. 630.

[g] Acts ii. 27.

by the *Soul* of *Chriſt*, which God would not leave in *Hell*, they underſtood the rational part of Man, that Spirit which diſtinguiſhes him from a Brute, and ſubſiſts after its diſunion and departure from the Body: Wherein it is moſt probable, they were in the right; for although the word *Soul* may by a *Metonymy* be ſometimes taken in Scripture for the *Body*, yet it cannot be ſo underſtood, where it is placed in oppoſition to, and contradiſtinction from it, as in this Text it is. And, as for the Creed it ſelf, the *Burial* of our Lord's *Body* having been already aſſerted, the bare repetition of the ſame in other Terms, would be an unaccountable Tautology, and contrary to that Brevity which this ſhort Summary of Faith intends. But then:

Secondly, The *Deſcent into Hell* reſpects not only our Saviour's Soul, but relates to ſomething done by it in its ſeparate ſtate, after it was diſunited from its Body by Death; which excludes its having any reference to the Miſeries and Agonies that he ſuffered in his Soul whilſt alive. Now this will moſt evidently appear from the Sermon of St. *Peter*, recorded in the *Second*

cond of the *Acts*, wherein he applies that Text of the *Pſalmiſt*, That God would *not leave his Soul in Hell*, unto our Saviour, after that the *Jews had by wicked hands crucified and ſlain him*; aſſuring his Auditors therefrom, that although they had crucified and put to death the Lord of Life, by means whereof his Body was buried in the Earth, and his Soul gone to Hell, yet thoſe two eſſential Parts ſhould return from their reſpective ſeparated Manſions, and be conjoined in the ſame perfect living Man again, according to the Propheſy of *David*, *who ſeeing this before, ſpake of the Reſurrection of* Chriſt, *that his Soul was not left in Hell, neither did his Fleſh ſee Corruption*; where it is manifeſt, that the Being, or *Deſcending into Hell*, related unto the Soul of *Chriſt* during the interval betwixt his Death and Reſurrection; that, as during that time, his Body was laid in the Grave, ſo his Soul went into Hell, where each of them remained in their particular Habitations, till the reunion of them again by his glorious Reſurrection, which was the Third Day after his Death and Paſſion.

Now

Now ſuitable to this Explication of the forementioned Texts, were the Notions of the Primitive Fathers; *Athanaſius* in his Tract againſt *Apollinarius*, *concerning the Incarnation of our Lord*, ſhews in ſundry places, [a] *That whilſt his Body lay buried in the Grave, his Soul went into Hell, to perform in that place thoſe ſeveral Actions and Operations which were neceſſary for the complete Redemption and Salvation of Mankind; that he performed after his Death, different Actions by his two eſſential Parts; by his Body he lay in the Grave, and conquered Corruption; by his Soul he went into Hell, and vanquiſhed Death.* Wherefore he writes in another Tract againſt the ſaid Heretick, That [b] *after the Death of* Chriſt, *his Body lay in the Grave, and his Soul went to Hell; neither of which were deſerted by his Divinity, according to that Saying of the* Pſalmiſt, *Thou ſhalt not leave my Soul in Hell, neither wilt thou ſuffer thine Holy One to ſee Corruption.* And the Author of the *Dialogues*

[a] Μήτι γε διχῆ μεμέρισας τὸ ἔξωθεν & ἐν τάφῳ ἐπιδείκνυσθε & ἐν ἅδῃ. *Tom.* I. p. 630. B.

[b] Μήτε τὴν θεότητα τὸ σώματος ἐν τῷ τάφῳ λειπομένην, μήτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν τῷ ἅδῃ χωριζομένην, τοῦτο γὰρ ἔτι τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τὸν προφητῶν, οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ἅδου, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. *De ſalut. advent. Jeſ. Chriſt. adverſ. Apollinar. Tom.* I. p. 645. D.

logues concerning the Holy Trinity, extant amongs the Works of the ſaid Father, writes, That Chriſt [a] *for our ſakes, went down by his Soul into Hell, whilſt his Body was laid in the Grave.* But, what need I multiply Quotations to prove a Point ſo univerſally atteſted by the Ancients in innumerable places of their Writings? Let therefore the ſuperaddition of the ſingle Teſtimony of *Fulgentius* ſuffice, That [b] *after the Death of the Son of God, his whole Humanity was neither in the Grave, nor in Hell, but that he lay dead in the Grave with his Body, whilſt he went into Hell with his Soul.* From all which it is moſt evident, that the *Deſcent into Hell* relates only to the Soul of *Chriſt* during its ſeparation from the Body, or the time that intervened between his Death and Reſurrection; which being premiſed, I come now to conſider the Article it ſelf, or what is predicated therein concerning our Lord's ſeparated Soul, which is, That he *deſcended into Hell*; wherein theſe two things ſhall be examined: *Firſt*, The *place*

[a] Ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν ᾅδου ψυχῇ διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὃ ἐν μνήματι τεθῆναι διὰ τὸ σῶμα. *Tom.* 2. *Dialog.* 4. p. 245.

[b] Humanitas vera Filii Dei nec tota in ſepulchro fuit, nec tota in inferno, ſed in ſepulchro ſecundùm veram carnem Chriſtus mortuus jacuit, & ſecundùm animam ad infernum Chriſtus deſcendit. *Ad Traſimund. lib.* 3. *c.* 34. p. 76.

place whither he went, which was *Hell: Secondly*, The *manner of his going thither*, viz. by *deſcending*, *he deſcended into Hell.*

Only before I ſpeak to either of theſe, I muſt be forced to premiſe one thing more, which is, that I do not pretend to affirm, that all the Fathers and Primitive Writers had the ſame exact Notions and Conceptions of this Article of the Creed, ſince without any Reflection it is too manifeſt, that ſeveral of them had no diſtinct and clear apprehenſions thereof, but were uncertain and confuſed in their Notions thereabouts: Wherefore, it will be ſufficient for my purpoſe, to prove what follows to have been the generally received Opinion, and that it is the moſt natural, eaſy, and unconſtrained Interpretation of this perplexed and obſcure Article, *he deſcended into Hell.*

Now, as for the firſt thing, the *place* whither *Chriſt* deſcended, which is ſaid to be *Hell*; it is moſt certain that we have not any one word in our modern *Engliſh* Dialect, nor by what I could ever underſtand, in any other of the preſent *European* Tongues, to expreſs the *Greek* word by: The word in *Greek*, which is ἅδης, *Hades*, ſignifies

fies an inviſible place, wherein all ſeparated Souls, whether good or bad, righteous or unrighteous, are received and contained, as ſhall be hereafter proved; the half of which ſignification, is only expreſſed in the *French* word *L'Enfer*, and in the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* words *Hell* and *Helle*, ſeeing they are always taken in an evil ſenſe, and do ſolitarily denote the Manſion and Habitation of wicked and ungodly Souls.

It is true indeed, that in the ancient *Engliſh* Dialect, the word *Hell* was taken in a larger ſenſe, for the general receptacle of all Souls whatſoever; and even no longer ago than the old Tranſlation of the *Pſalms*, which is ſtill retained in the *Common Prayer Book*, it was uſed in this general Acceptation, as in *Pſal.* lxxxix. 47. *What Man is he that liveth, and ſhall not ſee Death? Shall he deliver his Soul from the Hand of Hell?* Where *Hell* muſt be underſtood of the general receptacle of all Souls, or otherwiſe the words of the *Pſalmiſt* would not be true; for, all Souls do not go to that Hell which is the place of the damned: And even long before that, as [a] Dr. *Towerſon* informs us, in a *Saxon* Diſcourſe written above ſeven

[a] *Commentary on the Creed*, p. 220.

ſeven hundred Years ago, it is ſaid of *Adam*, That *after he had lived nine hundred Years, he went with Sorrow into Hell*; where, ſince none but reputed Hereticks ever denied the Salvation of *Adam*, it is moſt reaſonable to conclude, That by the *Hell* to which he went, nothing elſe is to be underſtood than the common receptacle of all departed Souls, whether good or bad. Which ancient ſenſe of the word *Hell*, may be farther confirmed from the primary and original ſignification thereof; according to which, it imports no more than an *inviſible and hidden place*, being derived from the old *Saxon* word *Hil*, which ſignifies to *hide*, or from the Participle thereof *Helled*, that is to ſay, *hidden* or *covered*; as in the *Weſtern* Parts of *England* at this very day, to *Hele* over any thing, ſignifies amongſt the common People to *cover* it; and he that covereth an Houſe with Tile or Slate, is called an *Hellier*. From whence it appears, that the word *Hell*, according to its Primitive Notion, exactly anſwers to the *Greek* word ἅιδης *Hades*, which ſignifies the common Manſion of all ſeparated Souls, and was ſo called, *quaſi* ὁ ἀϊδὴς τόπος, becauſe it is *an unſeen place*, removed from the

the ſight and view of the Living: according to which, the Tranſlator of *Irenæus* renders it by [a] *an inviſible place*; very fitly ſo terming it, becauſe of our uncertainty of the places whither departed Souls do go, and of their inviſibility unto us.

[a] Inviſibilem locum. *Lib.* 5 *c.* 26. p. 356.

But, from the literal ſignification of the word, let us proceed to the thing it ſelf; where I ſhall endeavour to prove, That amongſt all the Ancients, whether *Heathens*, *Jews*, or *Chriſtians*, the uſual Acceptation of the term *Hell* was, that it was the common Lodge or Habitation of ſeparated Souls, both good and bad, wherein each of them, according to their Deſerts in this Life, and their expectations of the future Judgment, remained either in Joy or Miſery.

I place the *Heathens* with the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, becauſe the propriety of any *Greek* or *Latin* word is to be fetched from them; and the Apoſtles ſpeaking the words of their Language, it cannot be imagined, but that they ſpoke them according to their vulgar Signification, intending always by them their uſual and univerſal Meaning.

Now that the *Heathens*, both *Greeks* and *Latins*, the one by their *Hades*, and

and the other by their *Inferi*, did generally underſtand the forementioned place of departed Souls, needs no large or copious Proof, ſeeing the leaſt peruſer of their Writings muſt without doubt have obſerved this to have been their general Opinion, that as upon the Death of all Men, whether juſt or unjuſt, the Grave received their Bodies, ſo *Hell* received their Souls: For the demonſtrating whereof, there will be found ſufficient in thoſe Books alone, that are uſually read in *Grammar* Schools; as in the beginning of *Homer*'s *Iliads*, the Poet invocates his Muſe to aſſiſt him in the Deſcription of the Anger of *Achilles*, which was ſo fatal to the *Greeks*, that it *ſent many noble Souls to Hell, and made their Carcaſes a Prey to the Dogs*.

Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν
Ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν.

And in the eleventh Book of his *Odyſſes*, *Ulyſſes* gives a Narration of his Deſcent into *Hades*, or *Hell*, which he deſcribes to be the common place of Souls ſeparated from their Bodies, where he met with ſeveral of his old Acquaintance, and others, of whom he had

heard, both good and bad; there he ſaw the Souls of *Achilles*, *Agamemnon*, *Patroclus*, *Antilochus*, and others whoſe names are mentioned with Honour and Praiſe in the *Pagan* Hiſtories, as well as the Souls of *Tïtius*, *Tantalus*, and *Siſyphus*, whoſe Memories are preſerved with Brands of Infamy and Reproach; there he beheld the Soul of *Achilles* to skip with Joy in a flowry Meadow, whilſt the Souls of other dead Men ſtood by in a mournful poſture, relating their particular Sufferings.

——— Ψυχὴ δ' ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο
Φοίτα μακρὰ βιβῶσα κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,
Γηθοσύνη———————
Αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ψυχαὶ νεκύων καταθνειώτων
Ἕσασαν ἀχνύμεναι, ἕκαστο δὲ κήδε' ἐνίσπον.

Each of them being ſuitably affected to the Sentence that had been paſſed on them by *Minos*, who in that infernal Region judged all Souls, according to their Actions in the Body, either to Miſery or Felicity.

Ἔνθ' ἤτοι Μίνωα ἴδον διογενέα βασιλῆα
Χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα θεμιστεύοντα νεκύεσσιν.

Æneas

Æneas alſo in imitation of *Ulyſſes* is feigned by *Virgil* to have gone down to *Hell*, or to the Habitation of departed Souls, where he ſaw not only the proud Giants who attempted to pull *Jupiter* out of Heaven, the King of *Elis*, *Ixion*, *Pirithous*, and other great and abominable Sinners, in the midſt of unconceivable and tremendous Torments, but alſo *Ilus*, *Aſſaracus*, *Dardanus*, *Anchiſes*, and a multitude of other Heroes,

——— *Pulcherrima proles,*
Magnanimi Heroës, nati melioribus annis. Æn. 6. ℣. 648.

recreating themſelves in green Meadows, amidſt a full confluence of every thing that could make them bleſſed and happy. So that Hell contained the ſeparated Souls of all Men whether good or bad, whether adjudged to Miſery or Felicity; being divided into two Parts, in the left whereof the ungodly are plagued and tormented for their Sins and Follies, as in the right the godly are rewarded and bleſſed for their Duty and Obedience; according to thoſe Verſes of *Diphilus* an old comical Poet, preſerved by [a] *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

[a] *Lib.* 5. *Stromat.* p. 442.

Καὶ γὰ καθ' ἅδλω δύο τρίβες νομίζομεν·
Μίαν δικαίων, ἑτέραν δ' ἀσεβῶν εἶναι
Ὁδὸν, κ᾽ εἰ τὰς δύο καλύψῃ ἡ γῆ.

For good and bad, two different Paths are found
In Hell; both which are cover'd by the Ground.

Not much unlike to which, *Virgil* deſcribes two Paths in Hell; the right, leading to the *Elyſian* Fields, or the Habitation of the Bleſſed; the left, leading to *Tartarus*, or the place of the Damned.

Hic locus eſt, parteis ubi ſe via findit in ambas:
Dextera, quæ Ditis magni ſub Mœnia tendit,
Hàc iter Elyſium nobis: at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, & ad impia Tartara mittit. *Æn. 6.*

In *Engliſh* thus:

The Way in two divides: that on the right
By Pluto's *Walls, goes to the* Elyſian *Light:*
That on the left doth unto Torment tend,
And Men to wicked Tartarus *doth ſend.*

From all which it manifeſtly appears, that *Hell* was a general Term, and ſignified the place whereunto all ſeparated Souls, whether good or bad, were tranſlated and carried, and there diſpoſed of into two diſtinct Manſions.

But

But from the *Heathens* let us come unto the *Jews*; amongſt whom we ſhall find the ſame Sentiments to have prevailed, inſomuch that St. *Ambroſe* affirms, That the [a] *Pagans ſtole the foremention'd Notion of the ſtate of departed Souls, from the* Jews *and the Books of the* Old Teſtament; *though he wiſhes, that they had not mingled other ſuperfluous and unprofitable Conceits therewith, but would have been contented with that ſingle Opinion, that Souls delivered from their Bodies, go to* Hades, *or* Hell, *that is, a place not ſeen, which is called by the Latins* Infernum.

[a] Cognoſcant gentiles ea quæ in Philoſophiæ libris mirantur, tranſlata de noſtris, atque utinam non ſuperflua his & inutilia miſcuiſſent,—— ſatis fuerat dixiſſe illis quòd liberatæ animæ de corporibus ἀϊδῶ peterent, id eſt, locum qui non videtur, quem locum latinè infernum dicimus. *Tom.* 4. *de bono mortis, c.* 10. p. 240.

The *Sadducees* indeed denied Angels, and Spirits, and the World to come; by which, as *Joſephus* writes, [b] *they took away the Rewards and Puniſhments of Souls in Hell*; but the *Phariſees*, who were the prevailing and far more numerous Sect, [c] *believed the Immortality of Souls, and that they were either tor-*

[b] Ψυχῆς —— τὰς καθ' ᾅδου τιμωρίας & τιμὰς ἀναιρῶσι. *De Bello Judaic. lib.* 2.

[c] Ἀθανατίν τε ἰσχυὸν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πίσις αὐτοῖς εἶναι, καὶ ὑπὸ χθονὸς δικαιώσεις τε καὶ τιμὰς, οἷς ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας ἐπιτηδεύσεις ὢν τὸ βίῳ γένοιτο. *Idem, Judaic. Antiq. lib.* 18. *c.* 2.

mented, or honoured under the Earth, that is, in Hell, *according to the Virtue or Wickedneſs of their paſt Lives.* In an Agreement whereunto, the learned *Huetius* obſerves in his Notes on the *Commentaries* of *Origen*, That the [a] *modern* Jews *diſtinguiſh between the ſuperiour Paradiſe, or Heaven, which is prepared for the glorified Souls and Bodies of the Saints, after the Reſurrection-Day, and the inferiour Paradiſe uſually called by them the Garden of* Eden, *which is appointed to be the Habitation of holy Souls during the time of their ſeparation from their Bodies:* According unto which, in the *Jewiſh* Liturgy, there is a Prayer preſcribed to be ſaid in time of Sickneſs, wherein the ſick Man prays, That [b] *if the time of his Departure be come, God would give him his Portion in the Garden of* Eden, *and purify him for the World to come, the hidden place of the Righteous*; which exactly anſwers the *Greek* word *Hades*, which as it hath been already ſaid, ſignifies *an hidden or unſeen place:* And,

[a] His conſentit Ebræorum doctrina, qui paradiſum illum appellant גן ערן, & paradiſum inferiorem, ut a paradiſo ſuperiore, cœlo nimirum diſtinguant, eamque ſedem aſſignant animis juſtorum corpore exutis. *In Orig. Com. Obſervat. & Not.* p. 101.

[b] ואם קרבה עת פקודתי למות — תן חלקי בגן ערן וחכנוי לעולם הבא הצפון רצדיקים: *In Seder Tephiloth.* p. 178.

And, in one of the following Prayers, called *Hakaphoth*, or *Encompaſſings*, becauſe the Elders encompaſs and go round the Grave of the buried Perſon; in their petition for them, they firſt pray, That the [a] *departed Soul may go to the Garden of* Eden, *and that from thence he may aſcend on high, and not ſtay without.* But, whether the modern *Jews* univerſally concur herein, is not neceſſary for me to enquire, ſeeing my deſign leads me only to the conſideration of the Sentiments of the ancient *Jews*; concerning whom, one well vers'd in their Opinions, I mean Father *Richard Simon*, aſſures us, That in the Days of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, [b] *their common Belief was, that there were places under-ground, whither Souls went, after they were ſeparated from their Bodies.* And a learned Man long before him, even *Origen*, affirms, That the *Jews* were inſtructed from their Infancy, [c] *in the Immortality of the Soul, and that under the Earth*, that is, in Hell, *there are both*

[a] פנקם תקבל לגן ערן — ושם תעלה מרום ולא בחוץ תעשיר: *Ibid.* p. 179.

[b] Ils reconnoiſſoient de plus des lieux ſouterrains, ou les ames alloient aprés eſtre ſaparées des corps. *Hiſt. Critiq. du Texte du nouveau Teſtam. c.* 22. p. 26). *De l'Edition de Roterdam* 1689.

[c] Τῶν μὲν ψυχῆς ἀθανασίαν, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν δικαιωτήρια, καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τῶν καλῶς βεβιωκότων. *Contra Celſum, lib.* 5. p. 260.

Judgments and Rewards according to Men's Merits and Deſerts in this Life. From all which it doth moſt evidently appear, That the ancient *Jews* as well as *Heathens*, underſtood by *Hades*, or *Hell*, the place whither all ſeparated Souls do go, and there live according to their different Qualities and Merits, either in a ſtate of Joy or Miſery.

But, that which nearly concerns me, is the Opinion of the *Primitive Chriſtians* herein; which after an unprejudiced Enquiry, I find to have been almoſt, if not altogether the ſame with that of the *Heathens* and *Jews*, *viz.* that *Hell* was the common Receptacle of all departed Souls, whether good or bad, being divided into two Manſions or Habitations; in one whereof, the Souls of the wicked remained in Grief and Torment; and in the other, thoſe of the godly in Joy and Happineſs; both of them expecting the general Reſurrection-Day.

Now, that they believed the ſeparated Souls of the wicked to have immediately paſſed into a place of Puniſhment and Anguiſh, requires no Proof, at leaſt it will be needleſs for me to inſiſt upon it; but ſeeing it will be proved,

ed, that they maintained, That even the Souls of the Faithful went to *Hell*, it will be neceſſary, by reaſon that that word is now always taken in an evil ſenſe, and ſo without a previous caution may poſſibly create wrong Ideas and Miſapprehenſions in ſome Peoples Minds, as if I would inſinuate, That the ſeparated Souls of the godly ſuffer the Pains of Hell, or at leaſt paſs through the Flames of a pretended Purgatory: I ſay, upon theſe and the like Accounts, it will not be unneceſſary, before I come to evince this main Point, that the Ancients placed believing Souls in *Hells*, briefly to ſhew, that notwithſtanding this, they affirmed them to be there in a ſtate of Reſt and Peace, in a full complacency of Spirit, joyfully expecting the reſtitution of all things, and the general Reſurrection-Day, when their Happineſs ſhould be compleated in the higheſt Heaven.

Archelaus, Biſhop of *Caſchara* in *Meſopotamia*, though he ſuppoſes [a] *both* Dives *and* Lazarus *to have been in Hell*, yet he maintains, *that the latter was there in a place of Reſt:* For which reaſon, *Origen* calls

[a] Accidit utrumque vitâ diſcedere, & in infernum deſcendere, & pauperem mitti in locum requiei. *Diſput. adverſ. Manich. ad calcem, not. Valeſ. in Socrat.* p. 201.

calls him [a] *the reſter in* Abraham*'s Boſom*; and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, That [b] *he flouriſhed in the Boſom of Father* Abraham; upon which account *Hilary* of *Poictiers* very well argues, That our [c] *Saviour could not fear to enter into the infernal Chaos, ſeeing* Lazarus *rejoiced in* Abraham*'s Boſom.* And from the ſame Conſideration, *Cyprian* comforted the *Chriſtians* of his Age againſt the Fear of Death, and exhorted them chearfully to receive it; [d] *Let us embrace*, ſaith he, *the Day that aſſigns to every one his Habitation, that delivers us from theſe worldly*

[a] Ὁ ἀναπαυόμενος ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ κόλποις. *Vol.* 2. *Com. in Johan. Tom.* 15 p. 234.

[b] Ἀνέθαλεν ἐν κόλποις τοῦ Πατρός. *Padag. lib.* 2. *c.* 10. p. 147.

[c] Lazaro in Abrahæ ſinibus lætante, infernum Chaos Chriſtus timeret? *De Trinitat. lib.* 10. p. 203.

[d] Amplectamur diem qui aſſignat ſingulos domicilio ſuo; qui nos iſthinc ereptos, & laqueis ſæcularibus exſolutos Paradiſo reſtituit, & regno cœleſti: quis non peregrè conſtitutus properaret in patriam regredi? Quis non ad ſuos navigare feſtinans, ventum proſperum cupidus optaret, ut velociter charos liceret amplecti? Patriam noſtram paradiſum computamus, parentes patriarchas habere jam cœpimus: quid non properamus & currimus, ut patriam noſtram videre, ut parentes ſalutare poſſimus? Magnus illic nos charorum numerus expectat, parentum, fratrum, filiorum; frequens nos & copioſa turba deſiderat, jam de ſuâ immortalitate ſecura, & adhuc de noſtrâ ſalute ſolicita: ad horum conſpectum & complexum venire, quanta & illis & nobis in commune lætitia eſt? — Illic Apoſtolorum glorioſus Chorus, illic Prophetarum exultantium numerus, illic martyrum innumerabilis populus ob certaminis & paſſionis victoriam coronatus, triumphantes illic virgines — remunerati miſericordes qui alimentis & largitionibus pauperum juſtitiæ opera fecerunt,— ad hos fratres dilectiſſimi avidâ cupiditate properemus, ut cum his citò eſſe, ut citò ad Chriſtum venire contingat optemus. *De mortalit.* §. 18. p. 347.

Snares,

Snares, and reſtores us to the heavenly Kingdom: Who, being abroad, would not haſten to return into his own Countrey? Who, haſtning to ſail home, would not heartily wiſh for a good wind, that he might ſpeedily embrace his Friends? We may reckon Paradiſe for our Countrey; we have begun already to have the Patriarchs for our Parents; why then do we not haſten and run to ſee our Countrey, and to ſalute our Parents? A great number of Friends expect us there; a numerous company of Parents, Brethren and Sons, deſire us, already ſecure of their own Immortality, but now ſolicitous about our Salvation. How great muſt their and our Joy be, in the mutual ſeeing and embracing of each other? What muſt be the pleaſure of the heavenly Kingdoms, where there is no fear of Death, but a certainty of eternal Life? There is a glorious Choir of the Apoſtles, there is the number of the exulting Prophets, there is the innumerable company of Martyrs, crowned for the Victory of their Fight and Paſſion; there are the triumphing Virgins, who by the ſtrength of Continency ſubdued the Concupiſcence of the Fleſh and Body; there are the Charitable,

table, who are rewarded for their Works of Righteouſneſs, in feeding and giving to the Poor; who by keeping the Precepts of the Lord, conveyed their earthly Patrimony unto the heavenly Treaſury: To theſe, dearly beloved Brethren, let us haſten, and wiſh to be ſpeedily with theſe, that ſo we may ſpeedily come to Chriſt. And many other ſuch like Paſſages might be eaſily produced, to ſhew the Opinion of the Primitive Writers to have been, That the Souls of the godly, immediately after their ſeparation from the Body, paſs into a place of Bliſs and Happineſs: But, that I may not be tedious, I ſhall deſignedly omit them, and proceed to the proof of the principal Point, which is, That it was the general Belief of the Primitive Church, that the ſeparated Souls of good Men went into *Hell*, or *Hades*, as it is termed in the Creed, where they remained in a condition ſuitable to their Merits in this Life, in an expectation of the Reſurrection, and the general Judgment-Day.

Now the firſt, whom I ſhall produce for this end, ſhall be the venerable *Irenæus*, Biſhop of *Lyons*, who relates this to be the Order of the Reſurrection

and

and Glorification of all true *Chriſtians*, That upon the diſunion of their two eſſential Parts by Death, [a] *their Souls ſhall go to Hell, or to an inviſible place appointed them by God, where they ſhall tarry till the Reſurrection, in a continued expectation of it; after which, receiving their Bodies, and riſing perfectly, that is, corporally, they ſhall come to the preſence of God.* Not much unlike to which, it is affirmed by *Juſtin Martyr*, That [b] *all Souls did not die, but that thoſe of the Godly remained in a better place, and thoſe of the Ungodly in a worſe, expecting the Day of Judgment.*

[a] Animæ abibunt in inviſibilem locum, definitum eis à Deo, & ibi uſque ad reſurrectionem commorabuntur, ſuſtinentes reſurrectionem; poſt recipientes corpora & perfectè reſurgentes, hoc eſt, corporaliter,—ſic venient ad conſpectum Dei. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 26. p. 356.

[b] Οὐδὲ ἀποθνήσκειν φημὶ πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς — τὰς μὲν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐν χρείττονί ποι χώρῳ μένειν, τὰς δὲ ἀδίκως καὶ πονηρὰς ἐν χείρονι, τὸν τῆς κρίσεως ἐκδεχομένας καιρόν. *Dial. cum Tryphon.* p. 223.

Tertullian writes, That both [c] *Dives* and *Lazarus*, or *Eleazar*, as he calls him, *were in Hell, the former in the torment of Fire, the latter in a place of Refreſhment*, viz. *in* Abraham's *Boſom*; making *Abraham's Boſom* to be a part of *Hell*, according to thoſe

[c] Eleazar apud inferos in ſinu Abrahæ refrigerium conſtitutus, contrà Dives in tormento ignis conſtitutus. *De Idololat.* p. 622.

thoſe Verſes againſt *Marcion*, which commonly paſs under his Name:

[a] Lib. 4. Carm. adverſ. Marcion.

[a] *Sub corpore terræ*
In parte ignotâ quidam locus extat apertus,
Luce ſuâ fretus, Abrahæ ſinus iſte vocatur,
Altior à tenebris, longè ſemotus ab igne
Sub terrâ tamen hæc, &c.

In which Verſes, he comprehends the place of damned and bleſſed Souls under the general term of the word *Hell*, or, of a Place under ground; only making this difference, that the wicked were in the lowermoſt parts thereof, in a place of Darkneſs, Fire and Torment; but the righteous in the ſuperiour Parts thereof, in a place of Light, Freedom and Happineſs.

But, to return to the unqueſtionable Works of *Tertullian*, in his Book concerning the Soul, he propoſes to diſpute of ſeveral Queſtions relating to it; one whereof is, concerning the corporeity of the Soul, which he holds in the affirmative, and thinks it undeniably evinced from the Soul's paſſivity, or receptibility either of Joy or Miſery in its ſeparate

ſeparate ſtate: For the proof of which, he doth not only alledge the Example of *Dives* and *Lazarus*, but alſo the detaining of all Souls in Hell, both good and bad, till the Judgment-Day, [a] *What is that*, ſaith he, *that is tranſlated unto Hell after the divorce of the Body, which is there detained, and reſerved unto the Day of Judgment, to which* Chriſt *by dying did deſcend? Even to the Souls of the Patriarchs, I think. How if the Soul be nothing, can it be detained under the Earth? For, it is nothing if it be not a Body; for, Incorporiety is free from all kind of Cuſtody, and incapable of either Pain or Pleaſure.* And, in the ſame Book, one of the laſt Queſtions which he handles relating to the Soul, is concerning its receptacle after its ſeparation from the Body; where he firſt propoſes the various Opinions of thoſe Philoſophers, who acknowledged its Immortality, as of the *Platoniſts*, *Stoicks*, and others, who generally allotted to wiſe and pious Souls, Seats exalted in the Air, ſublimated according to their Wiſdom and Excellency,

[a] Quid eſt autem illud, quod ad inferna transfertur poſt divortium corporis, quod detinetur illic, quod in diem judicii reſervatur, ad quod & Chriſtus moriendo deſcendit, puto ad animas Patriarcharum: ſed quamobrem ſi nihil anima detinetur ſub terris? nihil enim ſi non corpus, incorporalitas enim ab omni genere cuſtodiæ, immunis à pœnâ & à fovellâ. *De Anim. c.* 2. p. 529.

lency, but maintained, that other Souls were, according to their Folly and Corruption, depreſſed towards the Earth, and hovered thereabouts; which Conceit he condemns, as contrary to that part of the Chriſtian Faith which placed all Souls in *Hell: For*, [a] *as for us*, ſaith he, *we never believe Hell to be a naked Cavity, nor an open Sink of the World, but it is a vaſtneſs in the Body and Depth of the Earth, and an abſtruſe profundity in its Bowels; for we read, that* Chriſt *was conquered by Death, three Days in the Heart of the Earth, that is, in its moſt inward and internal Receſs, covered over by the Earth, ſhut within it, and built about by yet more inferiour Abyſſes:* And a little farther, he profeſſedly debates that Queſtion, [b] *Whether all Souls go to Hell*, which he poſitively affirms; referring his Rea-

[a] Nobis inferi non nuda cavoſitas, nec ſubdivalis aliqua mundi ſentina creduntur: ſed in foſsâ terræ, & in alto vaſtitas, & in ipſis viſceribus ejus abſtruſa profunditas, ſiquidem Chriſtum in corde terræ triduum morte legimus expunctum, iſt eſt, in receſſu intimo & interno, & ex ipsâ terrâ operto, & intra ipſam clauſo, & inferioribus adhuc abyſſis ſuperſtructo. *Ibid. c.* 31. p. 574.

[b] De inferis, & an illuc omnes animæ compellantur. — Habes etiam de Paradiſo à nobis libellum, quo conſtituimus omnem animam apud inferos ſequeſtrari in diem Domini — Chriſtus — quia & homo mortuus ſecundùm Scripturas, & ſepultus ſecundùm eaſdem, huic quoque legi ſatisfecit, formâ humanæ mortis apud inferos functus, nec antè aſcendit in ſublimiora cœlorum, quàm deſcendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic Patriarchas & Prophetas compotes ſui faceret. *Ibid. c.* 32. p. 576.

der

der *to a Book, now loſt, which he had formerly written concerning* Paradiſe, *wherein he had declared, That every Soul was ſequeſtred in Hell till the Day of Judgment*; adding for a farther confirmation thereof, That *Chriſt, becauſe he was Man, was not only dead and buried according to the Scriptures, but that he alſo ſatisfied this Law of deſcending into Hell, and did not aſcend into the heights of Heaven before he had deſcended into the depths of the Earth, that there the Patriarchs and Prophets might enjoy him:* And in the ſame Chapter he continues to write, That [a] *Heaven is not yet opened to any, the Earth*, or Hell, *being yet ſhut, but, that at the end of the World the Kingdom of Heaven ſhall be unlocked:* And in the next Chapter, he mentions it as the common Belief of the *Chriſtians* in his Age, That [b] *all Souls went to Hell*; and ſpeaks both with horrour and deriſion of the impious Practices of the Followers of *Simon Magus*, that they pretended by their Magical Arts [c] *to bring the Souls of the Prophets from Hell*; ſince, whatſoever *Spectrums* or Viſions appeared, they were not real Souls, but only their Reſemblances

[a] Nulli patet cœlum, terrâ adhuc ſalvâ, ne dixerim clausâ, cum tranſactione enim mundi reſerabuntur regna cœlorum. *Ibid.* p. 576.

[b] Animas univerſas ad inferos redigi. *Ibid. c.* 33. p. 577.

[c] Prophetarum animas ab inferis movere ſe ſpondeant. *Ibid.* p. 578.

ſemblances and Phantaſms; [a] *it being impoſſible for any Soul to come out of Hell before the Judgment Day, as our Lord in the Perſon of* Abraham *hath appointed in the Parable of the comforted poor Man, and tormented rich Man, that no Soul ſhall paſs from Hell to Earth:* Wherefore he concludes in the next and laſt Chapter, That [b] *all Souls are in Hell, that there are both Puniſhments and Rewards, that both* Dives *and* Lazarus *are there, that the Soul is both puniſhed and comforted in Hell, in expectation of the future Judgment.*

[a] Nulli autem animæ omnino inferos patere, ſatis Dominus in argumento illo pauperis requieſcentis & divitis ingemiſcentis ex perſonâ Abrahæ ſanxit, non poſſe inde relegare renunciatorem diſpoſitionis infernæ. *Ib.* p. 578.

[b] Omnes ergo animæ penes inferos, ſupplicia jam illic & refrigeria: habes pauperem & divitem. — Animam & puniri & foveri in inferis interim ſub expectatione utriuſque judicii. *Ibid.* c. 34. p. 579.

To *Tertullian*, the *Sibylline* Oracles may be ſubjoined, which ſeem to be a pious Fraud of ſome good intentioned *Chriſtian*, compiled probably about the latter end of the Second Century in the Time of the Emperour *Commodus*, wherein all Men who live upon the Face of the Earth, are ſaid to go down to the Houſe of *Hades*, or to Hell.

[a] Τ᾽ανεκα

[a] Τἔνεκα ἧ πάντες οἱ ἐπιχθόνιοι γεγαῶτες
[v] Ἀνδρες ἐν ἀΐδαο δόμοις ἰέναι καλέσον].

[a] *Sybill. Orac. lib.* 1. p. 164.

All Men, who in this World do dwell,
Muſt go unto the unſeen Gates of Hell.

Novatian diſcourſing of the perfection of the Creation, ſhews that all Parts thereof are full of the Wonders of God's Workmanſhip, not only the Heavens above and the Earth beneath, but even [b] *thoſe places which lye under the Earth, are not empty of diſtinguiſhed and ordered Powers; for that is the Place whither the Souls both of the godly and ungodly are led, receiving the Fore-judgment of their future Doom.*

[b] Neque quæ infra terram jacent, ipſa ſunt digeſtis & ordinatis poteſtatibus vacua; locus enim eſt quo piorum animæ impiorumque ducuntur, futuri judicii præjudicia ſentientes. *De Trinitat.* p. 493.

Archelaus, Biſhop of *Caſchara* in *Meſopotamia*, writes concerning *Dives* and *Lazarus*, That [c] *they both died and deſcended into Hell.*

[c] Accidit utrumque vitâ diſcedere, & in infernum deſcendere. *Diſput. adverſ. Manich. ad calcem Socrat.* p. 201. *Not. Valeſ. in*

Lactantius warns his Readers, That

[a] *none of them ſhould think, that Souls were immediately judged after Death; for they are all detained in one common Cuſtody, till the time ſhall come when the greateſt Judge ſhall examine their reſpective Merits.*

[a] Nec quiſquam putet animas poſt mortem protinus judicari: omnes in unâ communique cuſtodiâ detinentur, donec tempus adveniat, quo maximus judex meritorum faciat examen. *Inſtitut. lib.* 7. *c.* 21. p. 717.

Athanaſius commends and admires the courage of the Martyrs, who, for the ſake of *Chriſt*, did not fear to undergo all Hardſhips and Miſeries; and though many of them had weak and infirm Bodies, yet they greedily ſnatched at Death, not recoiling at the Corruption of their Bodies, nor [b] *fearing the Paths in Hell.*

[b] Μηδὲ τὰς ἐν ᾅδου καθόδους δειλιῶντας. *De Incarn. Verb. Dei. Tom.* 1. p. 82.

Hilary, Biſhop of *Poictiers*, affirms it to be [c] *the neceſſary Law of Nature, that Bodies ſhould be buried, and that Souls ſhould deſcend into Hell:* Wherefore the Souls of the Faithful when they [d] *are looſed from their Bodies, are reſerved for an Entrance into the heavenly Kingdom by the*

[c] Humanæ iſta lex neceſſitatis eſt, ut, ſepultis corporibus, ad inferos animæ deſcendant. *Enar. in Pſalm.* 138. p. 701.

[d] Exeuntes de corpore ad introitum illum regni cœleſtis, per cuſtodiam Domini fideles omnes reſervabuntur, in ſinu ſcilicet interim Abrahæ collocati, quò adire impios interjectum Chaos inhibet. *Enar. in Pſal.* 120. p. 628.

the cuſtody of the Lord, to wit, in the Boſom of Abraham, *unto which a great Gulf hinders the Wicked from approaching:* And in another place he writes, that immediately after Death, the Soul of every Man goes either to a place of Bliſs or Woe; [a] *of which the rich and poor Man in the Goſpel, are Witneſſes; the one of whom the Angels placed in the Seat of the Faithful, even in* Abraham's *Boſom, whilſt the Region of Puniſhment preſently received the other.—— The Day of Judgment is a retribution either of eternal Bleſſedneſs or Puniſhment; but the time of Death detains every one under its Laws, whilſt it reſerves every one for Judgment, either in the Boſom of* Abraham, *or in Puniſhment.*

[a] Teſtes nobis ſunt Evangelii Dives & Pauper, quorum unum Angeli in ſedibus beatorum & in Abrahæ ſinu locaverunt, alium ſtatim pœnæ regio ſuſcepit. — Judicii enim dies vel beatitudinis retributio eſt æternæ, vel pœnæ; tempus verò mortis habet interim unumquemque ſuis legibus, dum ad judicium unumquemque aut Abraham reſervat aut pœna. *Enar. in Pſalm.* 2. p. 453.

St. *Jerome* ſeems alſo in ſome places, to be of the ſame Opinion; as where he [b] *puts this difference between Death and Hell, that Death is the ſeparation of Body and Soul, but Hell the place in which Souls are*

[b] Inter mortem & inferos hoc intereſt: mors eſt, quâ anima ſeparatur à corpore; infernus, locus in quo animæ recluduntur, ſive in refrigerio, ſive in pœnis, pro qualitate meritorum. *Tom.* 5. *Com. in Oſe. c.* 13. p. 74.

reſerved either in Happineſs or Miſery, according to the Quality of their Merits: And in ſeveral places he ſaith, That [a] *before the coming of* Chriſt, *all were alike conducted to Hell.*

[a] Ante adventum Chriſti omnia ad inferos pariter ducerentur. *Tom.* 5. *Com. in Eccleſiaſt. c.* 3. p. 10.

St. *Auſtin* writes, That the [b] *time which is interpoſed between a Man's Death and the laſt Reſurrection, containeth Souls in hidden Receptacles, according as every one is worthy either of Reſt or Labour.*

[b] Tempus quod inter hominis mortem, & ultimam reſurrectionem interpoſitum eſt, animas abditis receptaculis continet, ſicut unaquæque digna eſt vel requie vel ærumnâ. *Tom.* 3. *Enchir. ad Laurent. c.* 109. p. 252.

But here it muſt not be diſſembled or concealed, That in the declenſion of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, the words *Hades* and *Inferi* became to be chiefly underſtood in an evil ſenſe, eſpecially in the *Latin* Tongue, where it came to be for the moſt part, peculiarly applied to the place and ſtate of departed wicked Souls; from whence we find amongſt the *Greeks*, That in the Days of *Origen*, ſome [c] *Chriſtians* could not imagine, that the Saints before the coming of *Chriſt*, went to Hell; unto whom that Father replies, [d] *That the Servants were not greater than their Maſter, that it was no diſhonour for them to go unto that place, whither*

[c] *Vol.* 1. *Homil. de Engaſtrym.* p. 30.

[d] *Ibid.* p. 32, 33.

ther their Lord himſelf went, who deſcended into Hell, that he might conquer it, and deliver from thence the Souls of the pious and godly; by which he hath opened for us a Paſſage into *Paradiſe*, that ſo [a] *we, who live in the end of the World, have this Privilege beyond the ancient Saints, that if we depart out of this Life good and holy, we ſhall paſs by the Flaming Sword* at the entrance of *Paradiſe, and ſhall not go unto that place, where thoſe who died before the coming of* Chriſt *expected him, but ſhall paſs by without receiving any Harm from the Flaming Sword.*

[a] Περισσὸν ἢ τί ἔχομεν, ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων ἐληλυθότες,— ἐὰν ἀπαλλαγῶμεν ἡγούμενοι καλοὶ καὶ ἁγαθοὶ, — διελθοῦσόμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν φλογίνην ῥομφαίαν, καὶ οὐ καταλυσόμεθα εἰς τὴν χώραν ὅπου ἀπελεύσονται τὸ χεῖσον οἱ πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ κοιμώμενοι, διελθοῦσόμεθα ἢ μηδὲν βλαπτόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς φλογίνης ῥομφαίας. *Ibid.* p. 36.

Where it is alſo evident, That *Origen* himſelf receded ſomething from the Opinion generally received in the Church, in that he would not allow the Souls of the godly to go to *Hell* ſince the Reſurrection of *Chriſt*, as he acknowledged they did before; but ſent them to *Paradiſe*, which he aſſigned to be in a different place *from Hell*, and not *in Hell*, as others believed it to be: Which Notion of *Origen*'s was afterwards followed by ſeveral, eſpecially in the *We-*

ſtern Church, where it prevailed to the excluſion of the ancient Doctrine; tho' in the *Eaſtern* Church it did not ſo; for there the primitive Notions were ſtill more generally received, as is to be ſeen in the Writings of the Two *Gregories*, *Nyſſen* and *Nazianzen*, with others; and lower down than their times, *Andrew*, Archbiſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, relates it to [a] *be the general Opinion in his Days, that every one at his Death received a place ſuitable to his Deeds, by which he might conjecture his future State*; which place he doth undoubtedly mean to be *Hell*, ſeeing elſewhere he doth, according to the diſtinction of St. *Jerome*, make this difference between *Death* and *Hell*, That [b] *Death is the ſeparation of Soul and Body, but that Hell is an unſeen, inviſible and unknown place to us, which receiveth our Souls when we go hence.*

[a] Πολλοῖς γὰρ τῶν ἁγίων τοῦτο εἴρηται, τὸ χώρους ἀξίους εἰληφέναι τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐργασιῶν ἕκαστον, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτῶν δόξης τεκμαίρονται. *Com. in Apoc. c.* 17. p. 34.

[b] Θάνατος μὲν χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος, ᾅδης δὲ τόπος ἡμῖν ἀειδὴς, ἄγνωστος καὶ ἄφατος, ὁ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν ἀπελθεῖν ἀποδημήσας δεχόμενος. *Ibid. c.* 64. p. 125.

The Author of the Book *De Definitionibus*, extant amongſt the Works of *Athanaſius*, but ſuppoſed to belong to *Maximus*, who flouriſhed in the Seventh Century about the Year 640, writes,

writes, that our Saviour is called the First Fruits of those that sleep, [a] *because he first arose from Hell, which we shall also do at his second coming*; that is, he died no more after his Resurrection; whereas *Lazarus*, and others, who were risen from the Dead, died again, and must continue in Hell till the general Resurrection Day.

[a] Διότι ἀνέστη πρῶτος ἐκ τῶν ἄδου, καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς μέλλομεν ἀνίστασθαι ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ παρουσίᾳ. *Tom.* 2. p. 52.

But, I need not produce any more Testimonies for this matter, seeing to this very day the same Doctrine, with very little Alteration, is entertained in the Oriental Churches and the Dependants thereof, as Sir *George Sandys* relates concerning the *Greeks* and *Armenians*, That they believe, [b] *that the Dead neither do, nor shall feel Joy nor Torment until the Day of Doom*; by which, I suppose, those *Christians* mean no more than what I remember is related in the Embassy of the Earl of *Carlisle* into *Muscovy*, *Anno* 1663, concerning the *Christians* of the Empire, That they believe, that *the Souls of all good Men are not admitted into Heaven, and unto the immediate sight of God, till the general Resurrection-Day*; and, than what *Job Ludolphus* writes, concerning

[b] Sandy's *Travels*, *the Seventh Edition*, p. 96.

concerning the Modern *Ethiopians*, That[a] *their common Belief is, that the Souls of the Faithful ſhall not enjoy their Happineſs till after the Reſurrection, which* the ſaid *Ludolphus* doth affirm, *to have been the ſentiment of the greateſt part of the Fathers*; wherein he is not at all miſtaken, who generally maintained as it hath been already proved, That as after Death the Bodies of the Faithful remained in the Grave, ſo the Souls continued in Hell till the general Reſurrection Day, when their Happineſs ſhould be compleated and perfected in the higheſt Heavens; which Doctrine, as we alſo ſee, hath with very little Alteration, been preſerved in the *Eaſtern* Churches for theſe ſixteen hundred Years.

[a] Ils croyent communement que les ames des fideles ne jouiront de la felicité qu' apres la reſurrection, ce qui Selon nôtre auteur, à auſſy eté le ſentiment de la plupart des ancient peres. *Biblioth. univerſel mois de Juillet* 1691, p. 16.

But in the *Weſtern* Church, it hath been otherwiſe; where, as the *Latin* Tongue declined, the word *Inferi* or *Hell*, was more and more uſed in an evil ſenſe, till at length it came to be wholly appropriated to ſignify a place of Torments, or at leaſt of ſome kind of Miſery and Obſcurity.

St. *Ambroſe* was one of the firſt in the *Weſt*, who varied from the ancient Doctrine,

Doctrine, and embraced the Opinion of *Origen*, concerning the place of the departed Souls of good Men; which was, That [a] *before the Death of* Chriſt *the Souls of all the Patriarchs and Saints went to Hell, where they remained in Joy and Happineſs till our Saviour's Death; when his ſeparated Soul came into thoſe infernal Regions, and breaking the Bonds thereof, he freed thoſe captive Souls, and at his Reſurrection triumphantly led them into Heaven, unto which place the departed Souls of all Believers do now immediately and inſtantly go.*

[a] Nullus aſcendit in cœlum, niſi qui deſcendit de cœlo; nam & Moyſen, licèt corpus ejus non apparuerit in terris, nuſquam tamen in gloriâ cœleſti legimus, niſi poſteaquam Dominus reſurrectionis ſuæ pignore vincula ſolvit inferni, & piorum animas elevavit. *Tom.* 2. *de fide ad Gratian. lib.* 4. *c.* 1. p. 77, 78.

After him, St. *Jerome* entertained the ſame Notions, That [b] *before the Death of* Chriſt, *all Souls were alike conveyed to Hell; that* Abraham's *Boſom, where* Lazarus *reſted in Peace and Joy, was a part thereof; that* Jacob,

[b] Ante adventum Chriſti omnia ad inferos pariter ducerentur; unde & Jacob ad inferos pariter deſcenſurum ſe dicit, — & Evangelium, Chaos magnum interpoſitum apud inferos eſſe teſtatur, & revera antequam flammeam illam rotam & igneam romphæam ad Paradiſi fores Chriſtus cum latrone reſeraret, clauſa erant cœleſtia, &c. *Tom.* 5. *Com. in Eccleſ. c* 3. p. 10. Quòd Sancti poſt reſurrectionem Domini nequaquam teneantur in inferno, teſtatur Apoſtolus, dicens, melius eſt diſſolvi & eſſe cum Chriſto, qui autem cum Chriſto eſt, utique non tenetur in inferno. *Tom.* 5. *Com. in Eccleſiaſt. c.* 9. p. 24.

Job,

Job, Samuel, *and all the other Saints who lived under the legal Diſpenſation, were detained in Hell, till the Goſpel opened the Gates of* Paradiſe, *and our Saviour's Blood quenched the Flaming Sword at the entrance thereof, when the Thief entered with our Lord thereinto; after whom followed into that holy City, the Souls of all the Saints who had been before detained in Hell, and unto which heavenly place, the Souls of all good Men immediately, upon their Diſſolution, do now inſtantly paſs, being no longer held in Hell ſince the Reſurrection of our Lord.*

Auſtin ſeems to be ſometimes wavering and uncertain in his apprehenſions of this Point; [a] *I do not doubt,* ſaith he, *but that the rich Man was in an extremity of Torments, and the poor Man in a confluence of Joys; but how that Flame of Hell and Boſom of* Abraham *is to be underſtood, will ſcarcely be found by humble Seekers, never by contentious Strivers.* In ſome places he doubts, whether *Abraham*'s Boſom, the receptacle of all faithful Souls before the coming

[a] Illum quippe divitem in ardore pœnarum, & illum pauperem in refrigerio gaudiorum intelligendos eſſe non dubito: ſed quomodo intelligenda ſit illa flamma inferni, ille ſinus Abrahæ, vix fortaſſe à manſuetè quærentibus, à contentiosè autem certantibus nunquam invenitur. *Tom.* 3. *De Geneſ. ad Liter. lib.* 8. *c.* 4. p. 815.

coming of *Chriſt*, was in *Hell* or no; [a] *I muſt confeſs*, ſaith he, *that I have not yet found where the Habitation of the Souls of the Juſt is in Scripture called Hell*; *and as I have ſaid, ſo I ſay again, that I never yet met with the word* Hell *uſed in a good ſenſe in the Canonical Scripture:* But, in other places he ſeems to grant, That *Abraham*'s Boſom, the Manſion of the godly before the coming of *Chriſt*, was part of *Hell*; [b] *whether* Abraham, ſaith he, *was in ſome Parts of Hell, I cannot well define*; *for* Chriſt *was not as yet come to Hell, that he might deliver from thence the Souls of the precedent Saints*; *it is probable that there were two Hells, divided by the great Gulph*; *in one whereof, the Souls of the juſt were at peace, whilſt in the other, the Souls of the wicked were tormented:* And, in his Book *of the City of God*, compoſed in the extremity of his old Age, he writes, That

[a] Illud me nondum inveniſſe confiteor, inferos appellatos ubi juſtorum animæ requieſcunt, — proinde ut dixi, nondum inveni, — nec mihi occurrit inferos alicubi in bono poſuiſſe Scripturam, duntaxat canonicam. *Tom.* 3. *de Geneſ. ad Liter. lib.* 12. *c.* 29. p. 934.

[b] Etenim apud inferos utrùm in locis quibuſdam fuiſſet jam Abraham, non ſatis poſſumus definire: nondum enim Dominus venerat ad infernum, ut erueret inde omnium ſanctorum præcedentium animas, — ergo inter iſta fortaſſe duo inferna, quorum in uno quieverunt animæ juſtorum, in altero torquentur animæ impiorum, &c. *Tom.* 8. *Part.* 2. *in Pſalm.* 85. *Enar.* p. 71.

That [a] *it is not abſurd to believe, that the ancient Saints who believed in* Chriſt *to come, although they were in a place moſt remote from Torments, yet that they were in Hell till the Blood of* Chriſt, *and his deſcent thither delivered them from thence; ſince which time, the Souls of Believers go to Hell no more.*

[a] Non abſurdè credi videtur, antiquos etiam ſanctos, qui venturi Chriſti tenuerunt fidem, locis quidem à tormentis impiorum remotiſſimis, ſed apud inferos fuiſſe, donec eos inde ſanguis Chriſti, & ad ea loca deſcenſus erueret; profectò deinceps boni fideles, — prorſus inferos neſciunt. *Tom.* 5. *de Civit. Dei. lib.* 20. *c.* 15. p. 563.

I might here farther add the Sentiments of *Petrus Chryſologus*, *Gennadius Maſſilienſis*, *Gregory* the *Great*, and ſeveral others of the ſucceeding Writers, but I think it will be an unneceſſary as well as tedious Labour, ſeeing the generality of the *Latin* Fathers of the middle Ages, embraced the forementioned Notion of *Origen*, *Ambroſe*, and others, which was occaſioned through the Mutation and Declenſion of the *Latin* Tongue, whereby the word *Inferi*, or *Hell*, received a conſiderable Change in its Meaning and Signification, being for the moſt part taken in an evil ſenſe; according to which Apprehenſion and Notion thereof, new ways and ends of our Saviour's Deſcent thither, were imagined and invented. But,

as

as I have already ſhewn, the word *Hell*, according to its primary and original Import, doth principally ſignify no other, than the State or Place into which all ſeparated Souls do paſs, and there remain till the Reſurrection Day; in which ſenſe it is to be frequently underſtood in the *Septuagint*, and cannot in any Propriety of Speech be otherwiſe accepted in that Text, whereon this Article of the Creed is founded, *viz. Acts* ii. 27. *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, neither wilt thou ſuffer thine Holy One to ſee Corruption*, becauſe the *Soul*'s being in *Hell*, is there oppoſed to and diſtinguiſhed from the *Bodies* being in the *Grave*; and being applied by the Apoſtle to our Saviour's Reſurrection, it is as if he ſhould have thus expreſſed it in other Words, that although *Chriſt Jeſus* died, and according to the manner of all Mankind, his Soul went into Hell, the common receptacle of all diſunited Spirits, and his Body was buried in the Grave; yet God raiſed his Body from the Corruption of the one, and looſened his Soul from the Bonds of the other, reuniting thoſe two eſſential Parts in a moſt wonderful and glorious Reſurrection; according to which Pattern of our Lord

and Saviour, all his Followers ſhall at the time appointed by the Almighty, be reſcued both in Body and Soul from the Power of the Grave and Hell; when, as the Apoſtle writes, [a] *ſhall be brought to paſs the Saying that is written, Death is ſwallowed up in Victory. O Death, where is thy Sting? O Grave,* or, *O Hell,* as it is in the *Greek,* being the ſame word that is uſed in the Creed, *where is thy Victory?* That is, at the Reſurrection-Day, through the omnipotent Power of God, the Grave ſhall be forced to yield up her dead Bodies, and Hell her ſeparated Souls, that ſo all Souls and Bodies being reunited, they may in their perfect Humanity ſtand before the Tribunal of *Jeſus Chriſt,* and receive a Sentence ſuitable to their Works in the Fleſh, and the Execution of that Sentence throughout a never ending Life, either in eternal Miſery or Felicity; which is the exact Deſcription given by St. *John,* of the general Reſurrection and Judgment-Day, in *Rev.* xx. 13, 14. *And Death and Hell delivered up the Dead which were in them, and they were judged every Man according to their Works; and Death and Hell were caſt into the Lake of Fire; this is the Second*

[a] 1 Cor. xv. 54, 55. Πῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; Πῦ σου, ᾅδη, τὸ νῖκος.

Second Death: That is, Death or the Grave ſurrendred her impriſon'd Bodies, and Hell her detained Souls, after which their Empire and Power over the Children of Men was deſtroyed and annihilated: From all which, I ſuppoſe it appears moſt evident, That the chief and proper Signification of the Word *Hell*, is no other than the Place of ſeparated Souls; and that by conſequence, the *deſcending of* Chriſt *into Hell*, imports no more than the Paſſage of his Soul to that inviſible World of ſeparated Spirits, where according to the Laws of God and Nature, it remained in Reſt and Peace till his Reſurrection-Day.

But then *Secondly*, The next thing to be enquired into for the full Explication of this Article, is the manner of our Saviour's going into Hell, which in the Creed is expreſſed by *deſcending* thither, κατῆλθεν εἰς ᾅδου, he *deſcended into Hell.*

Now as for this Word κατῆλθεν, tranſlated *deſcended*, Archbiſhop *Uſher* aſſures us, That [a] *in the Acts of the Apoſtles it is uſed ten times, and in none of all thoſe Places ſignifieth any deſcending from an higher Place unto a lower, but a removing ſimply from one*

[a] *An Anſwer to a Challenge made by a Jeſuit in* Ireland. 4°. London, 1631. p. 390.

Place unto another; *whereupon, the Vulgar* Latin *Edition doth render it there by the general Terms of* abeo, venio, devenio, ſupervenio; *and where it retaineth the Word* deſcendo, *it intendeth nothing leſs than to ſignify thereby the lower Situation of the Place unto which the removal is noted to be made*; *if deſcending therefore in the Acts of the Apoſtles*, as the ſaid Archbiſhop continues there to write, *imply no ſuch kind of thing, What Neceſſity is there, that thus of force it muſt be interpreted in the Creed of the Apoſtles?* So that, according to this Interpretation, the word *deſcended* implies no more than the ſimple Paſſage of the Soul of *Chriſt* into Hell, the Habitation and Manſion of all ſevered and diſunited Spirits.

And the Reaſon of the Uſe of this Word beyond any other, was, becauſe it was a vulgar Expreſſion and a popular kind of Speech, ariſing from the generally received Opinion, that the Receptacles of departed Souls were under the Earth, or in the Heart and Bowels thereof; whence called by the *Latins Infernum*, and by the *Greeks* καταχθόνια, and τὰ κατώτερα, that is, the *neither and lower Parts*; and ἅδης

quaſi

quaſi ἀϊδὴς, that is, *Inviſible*, becauſe thoſe Places are imperceptible and unſeen by the Living; according to which received Opinion of the *Heathens*, the Fathers alſo generally believed *Hell* to be either *under the Earth*, or *in the Bowels of it*; in which Belief they were the more confirmed from that in Reſemblance to the Prophet *Jonah*, who in his Soul as well as Body, was three Days and three Nights in the Whale's Belly; the Son of Man was to be *three Days and three Nights in the Heart of the Earth*, as it is in *Matth.* xii. 40. which is a Place that they generally applied to our Saviour's Soul, during the three Days of its Separation from his Body.

About the beginning of the Prophet *Jonah*'s Prayer out of the Fiſh's Belly, there is this Expreſſion, [a] *For thou hadſt caſt me into the Deep, in the midſt of the Seas*; where, what we render *in the midſt*, St. *Jerome* more exactly, according to the original *Hebrew* Word בלבב tranſlates it, *in the Heart of the Seas*; and on it writes, That [b] *by the Heart of the Sea, Hell is ſignified*; *for which, we read in the Goſ-*

[a] Jonah ii. 3.

[b] Per cor maris ſignificatur infernus, pro quo in Evangelio legimus, in corde terræ; quomodo autem cor animalis in medio eſt, ita & infernus in medio terræ eſſe perhibetur. *Tom.* 5. *Com. in Jonam. c.* 2. p. 138.

pel, the Heart of the Earth; for, as the Heart of an Animal is in the midſt thereof, ſo Hell is ſuppoſed to be in the middle of the Earth: For the proof of which, he elſewhere produces that Text of the *Pſalmiſt*, in *Pſal.* cvi. 17. [a] *The Earth opened, and ſwallowed up* Dathan, *and covered the Company of* Abiram; and that Paſſage of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, *Chap.* xiv. 15. [b] *Yet thou ſhalt be brought down to Hell, to the Sides of the Pit*, and long before St. *Jerome*, *Tertullian* calls Hell [c] *a ſubterranean Region*, [d] *a Vaſtneſs in the Body and Depth of the Earth, and an abſtruſe profundity in its Bowels*; and *Novatian* affirms it to be [e] *a Place beneath the Earth, whither the Souls both of the Godly and Ungodly are led, receiving in themſelves the previous Apprehenſions of their future Doom*; with which agrees the Prediction of *Sibylla*, That at the Diſſolution

[a] Quod autem infernus in inferiori parte terræ ſit, & Pſalmiſta teſtatur, dicens, aperta eſt terra & devoravit Dathan, &c. *Tom.* 6. *Com. in Epheſ. c.* 4. p. 178.

[b] Infernus ſub terrâ ſit, dicente Scripturâ, uſque ad fundamenta laci. *Tom.* 4. *Com. in Eſai. c.* 14. p. 47.

[c] Regionem inferûm ſubterraneam. *De Anim. c.* 32. p. 576.

[d] In foſsâ terræ & in alto vaſtitas, & in ipſis viſceribus ejus abſtruſa profunditas. *De Anim. c.* 31. p. 574.

[e] Infra terram locus—quo piorum animæ impiorumque ducuntur, futuri judicii præjudicia ſentientes. *De Trinitat.* p. 493.

tion of all things by the general Conflagration at the laſt Day, a great River of burning Flames ſhall deſcend from Heaven, and burn up every Place without the Confines thereof; amongſt which ſhe reckons not only Earth and Sea, Rivers and Fountains, but alſo unmerciful *Hades* or *Hell.*

[a] Καὶ τότε δὴ ποταμός τε μέγας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο
Ῥώσῃ ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν, καὶ πάντα τόπον δαπανήσῃ,
Γαῖαν τ' ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν, γλαυκήν τε θάλασσαν,
Λίμνας καὶ ποταμούς, πηγὰς καὶ ἀμείλιχον ὕδωρ.

[a] *Lib.* p. 200.

[b] *Irenæus*, [c] *Damaſcen*, and others, believed it alſo to be *a place under the Earth*; and *Origen* likewiſe one where, terms it [d] *a place under ground*; though he elſewhere ſpeaks very doubtfully and uncertainly of the Situation thereof, as when he writes, That *Chriſt* deſcended into Hell, [e] *whereſoever it be*, or, *in what place ſoever it is.*

[b] Sub terra, *lib.* 4. *c.* 45. p. 280.
[c] Ὑπὸ γῆν. *Orthodox. Fid. lib.* 3. *c* 29. p. 278.
[d] Τῷ καταχθονίῳ τόπῳ. *Vol.* 1. *Homil. de Engaſtrim.* p. 35.
[e] Ὅπου ποτέ ἐστιν ὁ ᾅδης. *Vol.* 2. *Comment. in Johan. Tom.* 8. p. 126.

And indeed, though every one believed

lieved *Hell* to be the receptacle of all Souls, yet they were not agreed in the exact Situation thereof. *Tertullian*, wherein he is followed by the Schoolmen, placeth it in the very Bowels of the Earth; *Novatian*, *Damaſcen*, and others, fix it beneath the Earth, *infra terram*, ὑπὸ γῆν, by which they underſtood the *Southern* Hemiſphere; which ſpace we now find to be filled with Earth and Air, as our Northern one is: Others knew not where to ſettle it; but in general, every one meant by it that Place, whereſoever it was, into which ſeparated Souls do paſs; only whatſoever their particular Opinion was, in conformity to the uſual Dialect and common manner of ſpeaking, they termed a going thither *a Deſcent into Hell*, as the forementioned reverend Archbiſhop inſtanceth in *Cicero*, who, [a] *where ever he hath occaſion to mention any thing that concerneth the Dead, ſpeaketh ſtill of* Inferi, *according to the vulgar Phraſe; although, he miſliked the vulgar Opinion which bred that manner of ſpeaking, and profeſſed it to be his Judgment*, [b] the Souls when they depart out of the Body, are carried up on high, *and not downward unto any Habitations under the Earth.*

[a] *An Anſwer to a Challenge made by a Jeſuite in* Ireland, p. 392.

[b] Animos, cùm è corpore exceſſerint, in ſublime ferri. *Lib.* 1. *Tuſculan. Queſt.*

So that when the Creed affirms, that our Saviour *deſcended into Hell*, the meaning thereof is no other than this, *viz.* that his Soul being ſeparated from his Body by a real Tranſition and local Motion, went into the unſeen Region of Spirits, where, according to the Laws of Death, it remained amongſt other religious and pious departed Souls till the Reſurrection of his Body, which was the third Day after.

Now that this is the true and proper ſignification of *Chriſt*'s *deſcending into Hell*, will be farther proved from the Conſideration of the Ends for which he deſcended thither; ſome of the moſt pertinent whereof to our preſent purpoſe, are as follows.

Firſt, One End thereof was, to ſanctify and ſweeten unto us the ſtate of Separation; to abate its Dread and Terrour, and to render it the more comfortable and joyful, in that our Head and Saviour endured it before us; for, as *Irenæus* obſerves, after that our Lord had paſſed through the ſeveral Ages of Man's Life to ſanctify them unto us, he [a] *at length came unto Death, that he might be the Firſt-born of the Dead, and have the pre-eminency in all*

[a] Deinde & uſque ad mortem pervenit, ut ſit primogenitus ex mortuis, ipſe primatum tenens in omnibus. *Lib.* 2. *c.* 39. p. 137.

things: According unto which *Athanaſius* writes, That *Chriſt* condemned Sin in his Life on Earth, took away the Curſe on the Croſs, Corruption in the Grave, and [a] *Death in his Deſcent into Hell, paſſing through every Place, and appearing in our ſeveral Conditions, that he might work out the Salvation of the whole Man.*

[a] Τῷ θανάτῳ τ καθάλυσιν ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ παντὶ ἐπιβὰς τόπῳ, ἵνα & σύμπαντ@ ἀνθρώπῳ τ σωτηρίαν κατεργάσηται, μορφὴν & ἡμετέρας εἰκόν@ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐπιδεικνύμεν@. Tom 1. *de Incarn. Chriſt. cont. Apollin.* p. 618.

Secondly, Our Saviour deſcended into Hell, becauſe it was a neceſſary and principal Part of his Humiliation; for, though his Soul was, and the Souls of all good Men now are in a Place of Bliſs and Happineſs, yet as long as they continue in their ſtate of Separation, they are ſuffering under the Effects of Sin, from which they ſhall not be delivered till the Reſurrection-Day, when Death and Hell, the Executioners of Sin, ſhall loſe their Sting and Victory; according unto which, *Irenæus* writes, That as *Chriſt* aroſe from the Dead, [b] *ſo the Bodies of all good Men ſhall be raiſed, when the time of their Condemnation for Sin ſhall be completed*; and, *Athanaſius* deſcribes

[b] Sic & reliquum corpus omnis hominis, qui invenitur in vitâ, impleto tempore condemnationis ejus, quæ erat propter inobedientiam, reſurgat. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 21. p. 213.

ſcribes the [a] *Souls of* Adam *and other good Men, held under the Condemnation of Death, to be crying unto the Lord in that State of Separation for his Mercy and Pity:* And the ſaid Father elſewhere remarks, That whereas, when Man fell by the eating of the forbidden Fruit, the righteous Judge pronounced a double Sentence upon him, the one relating unto his Body, the other unto his Soul; [b] *that reſpecting his Body being comprehended in thoſe Words,* Duſt thou art, and unto Duſt thou ſhalt return; *and that reſpecting his Soul in theſe Words,* Thou ſhalt die the Death; *ſo when a Saviour was ſent to redeem him, that he might in his own Perſon undergo the ſame Puniſhment, he permitted his dead Body to be laid in the Grave, and with his Soul he went into that Place of Separation, whither the Souls of all Men were adjudged to go, whereby likening himſelf to us in thoſe States and Conditions, he thereby redeemed us from them.*

[a] Τῆς δὲ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ψυχῆς ἐν καταδίκῃ θανάτου καλεχομένης, καὶ βοώσης πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῆς δεσπότην, — ὡς τοῦ ἀφαιρεσησάνλων τὴν Θεῶ, — Cyrill. Alexandr. Tom. I. de Salut. advent. Jeſ. Chriſt. p. 641.

[b] Τῷ μὲν γηΐνῳ εἰρηκὼς, γῆ εἶ, καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ, καὶ ὅτως ὑποδέχεσθαι φθορὰ τὸ σῶμα δεσπότου ἀποφηναμένου· τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ, θανάτῳ ἀποθανῇ, καὶ ὅτω διχῇ διαιρεῖσθαι ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἐν δυσὶ τόποις οἴκεσθαι καλεδικάσθη, διὰ τοῦτο χρεία γέγονε καὶ ἀποφηναμένου ἵνα αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ λύσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀπόφασιν, ἐν μορφῇ καὶ καλαδικασθέντος, &c. Tom. I. de Incarn. Chriſt. adverſ. Apollinar. p. 626.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Another End of *Chriſt's Deſcent into Hell*, was to conquer it in his own Perſon, and as the Head and Repreſentative of his Church and People; that the looſing of his Soul from the Bonds thereof, might be an Earneſt and Aſſurance to all his Followers, that at the appointed Time of their Reſurrection, their Souls ſhould be alſo reſcued through his Almighty Power, and obtain an eternal Victory over Death and Hell; from whence the Ancients repreſented our Saviour like a mighty Champion entring the Territories of Hell, and [a] *fighting for the ſpace of three Days with him, till he had broken the Strength of his Malice*, and quite deſtroyed his Power and Force, ſetting himſelf free from all his Bonds and Fetters, and rendring them unable to detain his Saints whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe him to command them thence; for a Declaration and Manifeſtation whereof, he brought with him at his Reſurrection, ſeveral holy Souls from that State of Separation, and reunited them unto their Bodies, who afterwards [b] *came into the holy City, and appeared unto many*.

[a] Per triduum iſtâ conflictatione pugnatum eſt, quamdiu mors, ſuperatis malitiæ ſuæ viribus, frangeretur. *Jul. Firmic. Matern. de Error. Prof. Relig.* p. 48.

[b] Matth. xxvii. 53.

Thus

Thus *Epiphanius* writes, That our Lord [a] *deſcended with his Soul into the nethermoſt Parts, where Death and Hell being ignorant of his Divinity that accompanied him, aſſaulted his Soul, thinking to have conquered it as they had the reſt of Mankind before; but that herein they were miſtaken, ſeeing that it was impoſſible for his Soul, by reaſon of his Deity, to be holden by them:* For, as the ſaid Father writes elſewhere, [b] *he broke the Sting of Death, rent in ſunder thoſe Adamantine Bars, and by his own Power looſed the Bonds of Hell,* bringing from thence with him ſome of thoſe captive Souls, as a Pledge and firm Foundation of Hope to all whom he left behind, that in his own due time they ſhould alſo arrive unto the ſame Liberty and Reſurrection with the others, which is the ſame with what *Sibylla* ſings.

[a] Σωὺ τῇ Ψυχῇ, καλελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ καλαχθόνια, —— ὁ ἄρχων ὁ ἅδης καὶ ὁ θάναλος χειρώσαλο ἄνθρωπον θελήσας καὶ ἄγνοιαν, ἀγνοῶν τὸ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ θεότηλα, —— ἔπασθε, —— καλαχεῖν ψυχλὼ· ἀδωύαλον γὰρ λῶ τὸ ψυχλῶ αὐτὸ καλαχεθλῶαι διὰ τὸ θεότηλα. *Adverſ. Hæreſ. cont. Ariomanit.* p. 337.

[b] Κλάσας κέντρον θανάτου, διαῤῥηξάσης τὰς μοχλὰς τὰς ἀδαμαντίνας, καὶ λυσάσης ὠδῖνας ἅδου ἐν ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ. *Adverſ. Hær. lib.* 3. *Compend. Fid. Cathol.* p. 463.

[c] Ἦξει δ' εἰς ἅϊδλω ἀϊγέλλων ἐλπίδα πᾶσι. [c] *Lib.*8.p.388.

He

He ſhall deſcend unto the Gates of Hell,
Declaring Hope to thoſe who there do dwell.

Athanaſius writes, That the Soul of *Chriſt* went into Hell [b] *to break the Bonds of the Souls who were detained there, fixing* or *ordaining the time of their Reſurrection*; and that he conquered the Grave and Hell, that [b] *where Corruption had been ſown, there Incorruption ſhould ariſe; and where Death had reigned, there he appearing with his human Soul, ſhould exhibit Immortality, and ſo ſhould make us partakers of his Incorruption, in hopes of the Reſurrection from the Dead, when this Corruptible ſhall put on Incorruption, and this Mortal ſhall put on Immortality.*

[a] Διαῤῥήξῃ τὰ δεσμὰ ψυχῶν ἃς ἐν ᾅδου κατεχομένων, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀναστάσεως διαπηξάμενος ὥραν. *Tom.* 1. *de Incarn. Chriſt. adverſ. Apollinar.* p. 626.

[b] Ἵνα ὅπου ἔσπαρη ἡ φθορὰ, ἐκεῖ ἀναλείλῃ ἡ ἀφθαρσία, καὶ ὅπου ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ θάνατος, ἐν μορφῇ ψυχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης παρὼν ὁ ἀθάνατος, ἐπιδείξῃ τὴν ἀθανασίαν, καὶ ὕτως ἡμᾶς μετόχους καταστήσῃ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀφθαρσίας, ἐν ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν, &c. *Tom.* 1. *de Incarn. Chriſt. adverſ. Apollinar.* p. 630.

Laſtly, The chief and principal End of our Saviour's *Deſcent into Hell* was, that he might ſubject himſelf unto the Laws of Death, and be in every thing conform-

conformable unto us; for ſeeing that he became our High Prieſt to redeem and ſave us, it behoved him in all things to be made like unto us, Sin only excepted. Wherefore when he died, his Body like unto ours, was committed to the Grave; and in the ſame manner, his Spirit fled to the Receptacle of holy and religious Souls, where, as all we muſt, it awaited his Reſurrection-Day; and which is very obſervable, amongſt thoſe infinite and various Ends, which the Ancients imagined, according to their different Conceptions, to be the Reaſon of this *Deſcent*, they frequently alledge this to be the moſt proper and principal Cauſe thereof.

Thus *Irenæus* writes, That our Lord by his abode in Hell, [a] *obſerved the Law of the Dead*; and *Tertullian*, That his Body was not only buried, but that [b] *he ſatisfied this Law alſo*, viz. *that he underwent the manner of human Death in Hell*; and *Athanaſius* writes, That [c] *our Death was deſcribed by the Separation of the Soul of* Chriſt *from his Body*,

[a] Legem mortuorum ſervavit. *Lib.* 5. *c.* 26. p. 356.

[b] Huic quoque legi ſatisfecit, formâ humanæ mortis apud inferos functus. *De Anim. c.* 32. p. 576.

[c] ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος χωρισμὸς, ὁ γὰρ ἡμέτερος ἐκεῖ διεγράφετο θάνατος. *Tom.* 1. *de Salut. Advent. Jeſ. Chriſt.* p. 646.

[a] *who*

[a] *who being found in our Shape and Figure, underwent the manner of our Death, that by it he might prepare a Reſurrection for us, ſhewing his Soul in Hell, and by his Body in the Grave, that being in Hell the exhibition of his Soul there, he might deſtroy it, and being in the Grave by the burial of of his Body there, he might annihilate Corruption, and ſo might bring forth Immortality and Incorruption from Hell and the Grave, going thither in our Form and Manner, and looſening our Detention there.*

[a] Ἐν ᾧ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς χλυομβρίᾳ ἐν αὐτῷ μορφῇ, τὸ ἡμέτερον ἐκεῖ διέξοδον θάναλον, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁρμόσῃ ἀνάστασιν, ἐξ ἅδου μὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐκ τάφου δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἐπιδεικνύμενος· ὅπως ἐν θανάτῳ, καταλύσῃ τὸ θάναλον ἐν ἐπιδείξει ψυχῆς, ἐν δὲ τῷ τάφῳ καταργήσῃ τὴν φθορὰν ἐν ταφῇ σώματος, ἐξ ἅδου καὶ τάφου τὴν ἀθανασίαν καὶ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ἐν μορφῇ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς τὸ ἡμέτερον ὁδεύσας ὁδὸν, ἣ τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χλυομβρίῳ καλοχιῷ λύσας. *Ibid.* p. 648.

[b] *Leo Magnus* writes, That our Lord [b] *by dying, underwent the Laws of Hell, as by riſing again he did diſſolve them*; and that I may not mention any more, *Hilary* of *Poictiers* aſſures us, That [c] *to fulfil the Nature of Man, he ſubjected himſelf to Death, that is, to a departure as it were, both of Soul and Body, and penetrated into the infernal*

[b] Leges enim inferni moriendo ſubiit, ſed reſurgendo diſſolvit. *De Paſſ. Serm.* 8. p. 55.

[c] Ad explendam hominis naturam, etiam morti ſe, id eſt diſceſſioni ſe tanquam animæ corporiſque ſubjecit, & ad infernas ſedes, id quod homini debitum videtur eſſe, penetravit. *Enar. in Pſal.* 53. p. 472.

infernal Seats, which was a thing that ſeemed to be due unto Man; for, as he elſewhere writes, [a] *it is a Law of human Neceſſity, that the Bodies being buried, the Souls ſhould deſcend into Hell, which Deſcent the Lord did not refuſe for the conſummation of a perfect Man.*

[a] Humanæ iſta lex neceſſitatis eſt, ut ſepultis corporibus, ad inferos animæ deſcendant, quam deſcenſionem Dominus ad conſummationem veri hominis non recuſavit. *Enar. in Pſalm.* 138. p. 703.

So that one principal End of our Saviours going into Hell, was to undergo the Laws of Death, that in every thing both living and dying, and after Death he might ſubmit himſelf to the Rules and States of that Nature which he came down from Heaven to redeem. In his Life-time he appeared in the ſimilitude of ſinful Fleſh, not diſdaining to undergo all the natural Actions and Infirmities thereof; at his Death, his Body was committed to the Grave, whilſt his ſeparated Soul fled unto the inviſible World of departed Spirits; which reaſon of his *Deſcent into Hell*, together with the others forementioned, is a more evident proof, that the meaning of this Article in the Creed is no other than this, *viz.* That our Saviour's Soul being ſeparated from his Body by Death, went unto the unſeen Manſion of

of ſeparated Spirits in the other World; that as his Body according to the Laws of Death, was laid in the Grave, ſo in a conformity thereunto, his Soul alſo paſſed into the Habitation of departed Spirits, where it remained in its ſeparate ſtate amongſt the Souls of *Abraham*, *Samuel*, *David*, and all the godly in Reſt and Peace, till the Day of his Reſurrection; deſcribing thereby unto all his Followers, the manner of their Death and Reſurrection, that their Bodies muſt remain in the Grave, and their Souls in *Hell*, or in their ſeparate ſtate, till the time of their Reſurrection, when they ſhall be raiſed to Life again, and in their perfect Manhood receive eternal Honour and Glory from him.

But, now having at large explained this Article, and ſhewn the true and proper ſenſe thereof, it yet remains to enquire into the occaſion, manner, and time of its being inſerted in the Creed. Now that which gave occaſion thereunto, was an heretical Opinion of the *Arians* and *Eunomians*, but eſpecially of the *Apollinarians*; between whom and the two former, the Difference was very ſmall, if any at all in this particular, as ſhall be hereafter ſhewn.

Theſe

Theſe Hereticks violently aſſaulted the truth of our Saviour's Humanity; but as they were more ſubtle and learned than that groſs and ſottiſh Tribe before-mentioned, againſt whom our Lord's *Birth*, *Paſſion*, *Crucifixion*, *Death* and *Burial*, are inſerted in the Creed, ſo they managed their Cauſe with greater Wit and Cunning, and proceeded in a more refined and politick Method: for whereas, thoſe forementioned Hereticks in a direct oppoſition and contradiction to the ſenſes of all Mankind: denied the Subſtance and Reality of *Chriſt*'s Body; theſe allowed that to be true and certain, whilſt in a more dangerous and plauſible way, they as effectually overturned the truth of his Humanity, by maintaing that he had no human, rational Soul, but that his Divinity ſupplied the room thereof.

Now that the *Arians* and *Eunomians*, or at leaſt ſome of them, led the way to *Apollinarius* in this Errour, is abundantly atteſted by *Epiphanius*, *Athanaſius*, and others, who charged them with this Doctrine as held and believed by all, or, I think, rather by ſome of them, (ſeeing it is moſt probable, that all the *Arians* were not infected therewith,) That *the Body which* Chriſt *aſ-*

ſumed, was deſtitute both of a rational and ſenſitive Soul; wherein they ſomething differed from the *Apollinarians*, who allowed *Chriſt* a ſenſitive Soul, and only diveſted him of a rational one; into which Difference between them, I ſhall not here enquire, ſeeing it is ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe, that they both agreed, in denying *Chriſt* an human reaſonable Soul: Which that the *Arians* ſo did, we are aſſured by the unqueſtionable Teſtimony of *Athanaſius*, who accuſeth them of maintaining, That [a] *the heavenly Mind in* Chriſt *ſerved inſtead of an human Soul*; and to the ſame purpoſe, *Theodorit* writes concerncerning both the *Arians* and *Eunomians*, That they [b] *held, that our Saviour's Godhead performed the Office of the Soul*; with whom, both [c] *Epiphanius* and [d] *Auſtin* agree in their charge againſt the *Arians*, affirming, That they held, That *Chriſt took only an human Body without a Soul.*

[a] Ἀντὶ δ' ἔσωθεν τῷ ἡμῖν ἀνθρώπῳ, νοῦς ἐπουράνιος τῷ Χριστῷ. *Tom.* 1. *de Incarn. Chriſt. adverſ. Apollinar.* p. 628.

[b] Ἀρειος ἢ καὶ Εὐνόμιος — ἔφασαν, — τὴν θεότητα τὴν ψυχῆς ὑπηρετεῖσθαι τὴν χρείαν. *Divin. Decret. Epit. c.* 12. p. 124.

[c] Σάρκα μόνον τὸν Ζωῆς Χριστὸν ἀπὸ Μαρίας εἰληφέναι διαβεβαιούμενοι, καὶ ὁ ψυχὼ. *Anacephal.* p. 528.

[d] Deum Chriſtum carnem ſine animâ ſuſcepiſſe. *De Hæreſ. c.* 55. p. 182.

But

But that which render'd this Hereſy the more conſiderable and dangerous, was, that it was defended and patronized by the great *Apollinarius*, the Ornament and Splendour of the Church in that Age; who, after he had been the moſt ſignalized Champion for the Faith, and an illuſtrious Example of Piety and Virtue, unhappily eſpouſed theſe and other Notions, which cauſed him to be branded for an Heretick in that and all ſucceeding Generations.

This *Apollinarius*, of whom I am now ſpeaking, was *Apollinarius* the Younger, Biſhop of *Laodicea*; but whether of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, or of that in *Phœnicia* of *Libanus*, is not certainly known. He was by all eſteemed the greateſt Man of his Age both for Learning and Piety; a moſt accurate and nervous Defender of the Faith againſt all its Enemies, whether *Heathens* or *Hereticks*. *Vincentius Lirinenſis* repreſents him as a very extraordinary Man, [a] *that he had a moſt acute Wit, and ſublime Learning*;

[a] Quid illo præſtantius acumine—doctrinâ? Quàm multas ille Hæreſes multis voluminibus oppreſſerit? Quot inimicos fidei confutaverit errores? Indicio eſt opus illud triginta non minus librorum nobiliſſimum ac maximum, quo inſanas Porphyrii calumnias magnâ probationum mole confudit: longum eſt univerſa ipſius opera commemorare, quibus profectò ſummis ædificatoribus Eccleſiæ par eſſe potuiſſet, niſi prophanè illâ hæreticæ curioſitatis libidine novum neſcio quid inveniſſet. *Commonit.* c. 16. p. 46, 47.

ing; that in many Volumes he had overthrown Hereſies, and confuted Errours oppoſite to the Faith; that in thirty large and noble Books, he had moſt convincingly baffled the Calumnies of Porphyry; *that it would be too long to recite all his Works, by which indeed he might have been equall'd with the chiefeſt Builders of the Church, had he not fallen into Hereſy.* And *Philoſtorgius* the *Arian* Hiſtoriographer, gives this larger Character of him, That [a] *He*, and *Baſil*, and *Gregory Nazianzen*, defended the Divinity of *Chriſt better than any either before or after them; in compariſon of whom, the great* Athanaſius *was eſteemed to be but a Child; that they had not only an extraordinary Faculty both in ſpeaking and writing, but their Lives were ſo attracting, that whoſoever either ſaw or heard them ſpeak, were drawn and perſuaded by them, and that the moſt conſidered and eſteemed of theſe Three was this* Apollinarius, of whom I am now ſpeaking.

[a] Τρεῖς ἦ ἅτοι ἄνδρες, — μαχεῷ πάνλας παρενεξκόνλες τὰς πρότερον ἓ ὕσερον, — ὥς παῖδα παρ' αὐτοῖς κεκλῶσαι τ' Αθανάσιον, — ἓ μάλισά γε αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀπολλινάριος, — τοσαύτης ἦ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ λέξειν καὶ γράφειν δυνάμεως ἦσης, ἓ τὸ ἦθος ἁδὲν ἧττον, &c. *E Suidâ in Voc.* Ἀπολλινάριος.

The Fall therefore of ſo a great a Pillar, muſt needs have been a very ſenſible

ſible loſs unto the Church, and is as ſuch bewailed by *Epiphanius*, in the relation that he gives of his Hereſy, and moſt pathetically by *Gregory Nazianzen*, who ſpeaking of the Hereſies of *Eunomius* and *Apollinarius* (the former of whom denied the Divinity of our Saviour) ſaith, That the Hereſy of the firſt was ſupportable, and to be born withal, but that which [a] *was moſt inſupportable and ſinking in all the Eccleſiaſtical Shipwrecks, was the Errour of Apollinarius*, that ſo great and good a Man, the Ornament of his Age, and Flower of the Church, ſhould become an Heretick, and an impugner of the Catholick Faith.

[a] Τὸ δ' πάντων χαλεπώταλον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ξυμφοραῖς ἡ τῶ Ἀπολλιναρίστων ἐστὶ παρρησία. *Apud Sozomen. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 6. c. 27. p. 676.*

As for the time when he began his Hereſy, it is not exactly known; he was not anathematized as an Heretick by Name, till the ſecond General Council at *Conſtantinople*, *Anno* 381; but nineteen Years before that, *viz. Anno* 362, his Hereſy was condemned by a Synod at *Alexandria*, whereat were preſent *Athanaſius*, *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Verceil* in *Piedmont*, with ſeveral others, without mentioning his Name; the reaſon whereof might be, either be-

cauſe ſome Monks were ſent by him thither, to purge him from the ſuſpicion of Hereſy, as in the [a] relation of the Synod there is room enough for ſuch a Conjecture, or, becauſe they were loth to believe ſo great a Doctor of the Church could fall into ſo foul an Hereſy. *Epiphanius* writes, that when he firſt heard of this Errour, by ſome who came from him, he could not believe that ſuch a Man had eſpouſed ſuch heretical Notions, and that they were only [b] *ſome Peoples miſtaken Apprehenſions, who could not fathom the depth and profundity of ſo great a Scholar*; or elſe they were unwilling to caſt ſo eminent a Man from the Communion of the Church, and therefore would firſt condemn his Hereſy without mentioning his Name, hoping that that might be a means to regain him to the Catholick Faith, of which he had been before ſo noted and ſtrenuous a Defender: But now, how long before this Synod he had vented his Hereſy, is not certainly known; only it could not be long, and not above three or four Years at fartheſt.

[a] Παρῆσαν δὲ καί τινες Ἀπολλιναρείου ἐπίσκοπου μονάζοντες παρ' αὐτῷ εἰς τοῦτο πεμφθέντες. *Athanaſ. Epiſt. ad Antioch. Tom.* 1. p. 580.

[b] Ἐλέγομεν δὲ τὰς παῖδας τὰς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικομένους, μὴ νοοῦντας τὰ βαθέως, ὑπὸ δὲ τοιούτου λόγου ἀνθεῖς, &c. *Adverſ. Hæreſ. Dimarit.* p. 421.

Now

Now that Hereſy of *Apollinarius*, which reſpects our preſent purpoſe, was according to St. *Auſtin*'s Expreſſion, That [a] Chriſt *aſſumed Fleſh without a Soul*; or, as *Caſſian* words it, That he [b] *had not an human Soul*, or a *rational Soul*; for they allowed him ſuch a ſenſitive Soul as is in Brutes, but denied him to have a reaſonable one, as *Vincentius Lirinenſis* writes, That [c] *Apollinaris* affirmed, *that there was not in our Saviour's Body an human Soul, at leaſt not ſuch an one wherein was Mind and Reaſon*, but that [d] *inſtead thereof his Divinity ſupplied its room and place*; ſo that in ſhort, the Errour of *Apollinarius* was this, That though *Chriſt* in his becoming Man, was ἐνσαρκος, that is, was incarnate, had real Fleſh and a ſubſtantial Body; yet he was not ἐμψυχώμενος, that is, he had no reaſonable human Soul, but his Divinity performed all the Actions and Offices thereof.

[a] Apollinaris inſtituit Deum Chriſtum carnem ſine animâ ſuſcepiſſe. *De Hæreſ. c.* 55. p. 182.

[b] Humanam eum non habuiſſe animam. *De Incarn. Chriſt, l.* 1. p. 1241.

[c] Apollinaris dicit in ipsâ ſalvatoris noſtri carne, aut animam humanam penitùs non fuiſſe, aut certè talem fuiſſe, cui mens & ratio non eſſet. *Comment. c.* 17. p. 50.

[d] Ἀρχίσαι τ̃ θείαν φύσιν εἰς τὸ πληρῶσαι τὸ νὸ τ̃ χρείαν. *Epit. Hær. Fab. lib.* 4. *in Hær. Apol.* p. 107.

Which Hereſy the Fathers apprehended to be attended with moſt dreadful Conſequences; for if *Chriſt* had been deſtitute of an human Soul, and the place thereof had been ſupplied by his Deity, then ſeveral Actions, as *Deſiring*, *Grieving*, and the like, would have been moſt impiouſly attributed by the holy Scripture unto his divine Nature; which Argument is urged to very good purpoſe by [a] *Epiphanius* againſt theſe Hereticks; and *Athanaſius* moſt pertinently asks them, how *Chriſt* could be ſorrowful and troubled (as it is ſaid of him in *John* xiii. 21. That *he was troubled in Spirit*) if he had not [b] *had an human Soul? for to aſcribe that to inſenſible Matter, was ridiculous, or to the immutable Godhead, was blaſphemous.*

[a] *Adverſ. Hæreſ. in Hæreſ.* 77.

[b] Ταῦτα ἢ ὅτε ζαρκὸς ἀνοήτου ἂν εἴη, ὅτε θεότητος ἀτρέπτου, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς νόησιν ἐχούσης. — Τελεφόθαι τ ἄτρεπτον εἰς λύπην κ ἀθημονίαν ὁ παραχὼ τὸ συνοεῖν, ἀσεβές ἐστι. *Tom.* 1. *de Incarn. Chriſt. adverſ. Apollinar.* p. p. 628.

Beſides, if *Chriſt*, had been void of a reaſonable Soul, he would not have had the whole Eſſence of Man, his Humanity would have been defective and imperfect; on which account *Vincentius Lirinenſis* anathematizes *Apollinarius* for [c] *taking away the Property of the perfect Humanity*; *and Epiphanius* accuſes his Followers

[d] Auferenti perfectæ humanitatis proprietatem. *Commonit. c.* 22. p. 69.

lowers [a] *of making the Incarnation of* Chriſt *imperfect, by holding, that he did not aſſume a Soul:* And it is obſerved by *Theodorit*, That in the Synodical Epiſtle of the Second General Council held at *Conſtantinople*, this Hereſy of the *Apollinarians* was condemned by theſe words, [b] *We retain the Doctrine of our Lord's Incarnation uncorrupted, neither believing his Body to be without a Soul or Mind, or his Humanity to be imperfect*; which it would have been, if he had only aſſumed a Body; for, by wanting a Soul, he would have had but half the Nature of Man: Upon which, this farther Conſequence ſeems to follow, that he would have been but a partial Redeemer, and have only ſaved the Body, whilſt he left the Soul to periſh and be undone.

[a] Τινὲς δὲ βουλόμενοι ἐλλιπῆ ποιεῖν ἔνσαρκον Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν, — εἶπον νοῦν τὸ Χριστὸν μὴ ἀνθρώπινον. *Serm. Ancorat.* p. 502.

[b] Τὸν τῆς ἀνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ κυρίου λόγον, ἀδιάστροφον φυλάττομεν, ὅτε ἄψυχον, ὅτε ἄνουν, ἢ ἀτελῆ τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκονομίαν παραδεχόμενοι. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 5. *c.* 9. p. 212.

Clemens Romanus writes, That *Chriſt* gave [c] *his Fleſh for our Fleſh, and his Soul for our Soul:* But, theſe Heretieks by denying our Lord an human Soul, by conſequence render'd his Salvation defective

[c] Τὴν σάρκα ὑπὲρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. *Epiſt.* 1. p. 64.

fective and incomplete, and confined it ſolely to the ſenſitive and bodily part of Man; for as *Athanaſius* proves againſt them, one thing could not be redeemed by another different therefrom; but [a] *the Body muſt be given for the Body, and the Soul for the Soul*; upon which account it is affirmed by *Theodorit*, That *Apollinarius* [b] *denied Salvation to the rational Soul, by which the Body is governed; for if according to his Opinion, God the Word did not aſſume it, he could not then either relieve it, or impart Honour to it:* And therefore *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, in the Synodical Epiſtle, which he writ on purpoſe to condemn this Hereſy, aſſerts in oppoſition thereunto, That *Chriſt* the Son of God, our Lord, by his Paſſion [c] *brought ſuch full Salvation to Mankind, that he freed the whole Man which was entangled by ſin, from all Iniquity:* And in another Synodical Epiſtle penn'd before this at *Alexandria*, *Anno* 362, in contradiction to

[a] Σῶμα ὑπὲρ σώματος, ἡ ψυχὴ ἀντὶ ψυχῆς. *Tom. de Incarn. Chriſt. adverſ. Apollinar.* p. 630.

[b] Τὸν λογικὸν ψυχὸν τὸν ἰθυνόμενον τὸ σῶμα πεπισδυμένου, ἰσεργὰς τὸν γεγονημένης ἔφητε σωτηρίας, οὐκ εἰλικρινῶς γὰρ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου λόγον ὁ Θεὸς λόγος ὅτε ἰατρείας ἠξιώσεν, ὅτε τιμῆς μετέδωκεν. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 5. *c.* 3. p. 200.

[c] Πληρεσάτην ἀπέδοκε τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἵνα ὅλον τὸν ἄνθρωπον ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἐνεχόμενον πάσης ἀμαρτίας ἐλεύθερώσῃ. *Apud Theodor. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 5. *c.* 10. p. 213.

to this neceſſary conſequence of this Hereſy, *Chriſt* is declared to be the Saviour of the whole Man, [a] *not of the Body only, but alſo of the Soul.*

[a] Οὐδὲ σώματος μόνου, ἀλλὰ ἐ ψυχῆς ὁ αὐτὸς τοῦ λόγου σωτηρία γέγονεν. *Athanaſ. Tom.* 1. *Epiſt. ad Antiochen.* p. 578.

Theſe then being apprehended to be the natural conſequences of this Heretical Opinion, which was advanced by a Perſon of an extraordinary Eſteem both for Learning and Piety, and ſo more probable to inſnare and infect others, it cannot be imagined but that the Governours of the Church endeavoured to apply the moſt effectual Remedy and Antidote there againſt; and it ſeems moſt probable, that for this very End they introduced into the Creed, or Rule of Faith demanded at Baptiſm, this Clauſe, That *he deſcended into Hell*; that is, that his Soul being ſeparated from his Body, went to the common receptacle of departed human Spirits: Which Point was pitched upon as the moſt pertinent and proper, becauſe it was thought the moſt convincing and undeniable proof of the Reality, and certain Exiſtence of our Saviour's reaſonable Soul: For though other Arguments were made uſe of by the Fathers of the Church for the confirmation thereof,

thereof, yet its Adverſaries had invented more plauſible Anſwers thereunto than they could poſſibly frame unto this preſſing and unanſwerable Reaſon now before us. As for inſtance, if the Orthodox for the proof of their Doctrine, produced that Text of our Saviour, *John* x. 18. *No Man taketh away my Life from me*, or as it is in the *Greek* ἀπ' ψυχῆς μου, *my Soul from me, but I lay it down of my ſelf:* The *Apollinarians* replied, That hereby [a] *he meant the human Life*, which is maintained by the ſenſitive Soul, as that of Brutes is. If the Orthodox again argued from *Chriſt's* [b] *being ſorrowful and exceeding heavy*, that he muſt needs have had a reaſonable Soul, ſeeing not only his Divinity, but alſo his Body was incapable of Sorrow, being in its ſelf but inſenſible Matter: Unto this the *Apollinarians* rejoined, That [c] *it might be well enough underſtood of the Body, that that was perceptive and ſenſible of Suffering:* An Example whereof is found in Brutes, who though they have no rational Souls, yet appear to be capable both of Senſation and Paſſion. And ſo for other Arguments with which the Fathers oppugned this Hereſy, the Abettors thereof made a ſhift to frame ſome

[a] Ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἔλεγεν ζωῇ. *Inter Oper. Athanaſ. Tom.* 2. *de S. Trin. Dial.* 4. p. 239.

[b] Matth. xxvi. 38.

[c] Ἡμεῖς λέσομεν, ὅτι αἰσθησιν εἶχεν τὸ σῶμα ἐν ᾗ ἔπαθεν. *Id. Ibid. ut ſupra.* p. 246.

ſome kind of tolerable Reply thereto. But againſt this Reaſon no poſſible Anſwer could be imagined, or the leaſt ſhadow of an Argument invented; for if *Chriſt deſcended into Hell*, what was it of him that went thither? It could not be his Deity; for that is omnipreſent, and was in Hell before as well as elſewhere, and therefore could not now make a local tranſition thither; neither could it be his Body, for that was committed to the Grave, and under ſafe cuſtody confined there: It remains therefore of neceſſity, that it muſt be his Soul; on which it doth as neceſſarily follow, that that Soul muſt be reaſonable and human, ſince the Souls of Brutes expire and die with their Bodies, and only the Souls of Men ſurvive and live in a ſeparate State, and go into *Hell*, or the common Lodge of all ſuch ſevered and diſunited Spirits.

This Argument therefore being ſo unanſwerable, we find it frequently urged by the Ancients againſt this Hereſy, as by [a] *Epiphanius* in his Confutation thereof, and by *Theodorit*; in one of whoſe Dialogues, when he that ſupplied the place of an Orthodox Chriſtian asked the other,

[a] *If*

[a] *Adverſ Hareſ. in Hareſ.* 77. p. 434.

[a] Εἰ δέ σε ὑπολαβὼν εἴποι, ἡ μὲν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ σῶμα μόνον, — ποίοις ἂν λόγοις τὴν ἀντίθεσιν διαλύσαιο. *Dial.* 2. Ἀσύγχυ. p. 33.

[a] *If*, ſaith he, *I ſhould ſay, that* Chriſt *aſſumed a Body without a Soul, and that his Divinity being united to his Body, performed all the Offices thereof, with what Reaſons would you confute me?* To which, when the Reſpondent anſwered, That he would confute him from ſeveral Texts of the *Holy Scripture*, and in particular from that Text of the *Pſalmiſt*, [b] *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, neither wilt thou ſuffer thine Holy One to ſee Corruption*; he replied unto him, That [c] *he had moſt aptly and pertinently cited thoſe Teſtimonies.* But more eſpecially is this Argument managed for this End by *Athanaſius*, who affirms the Death of *Chriſt* to have been a moſt evident demonſtration, that he had an human Soul as well as Body; *for*, ſaith he, *when* [d] *his Body went no farther than the Grave, his Soul pierced even into Hell; and whilſt the Grave received his corporeal Part, Hell received*

[b] Τὸ ΟΥΚ ΕΓΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΨΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΗΝ ΜΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΟΥ, ΟΥΔΕ ΔΩΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΟΣΙΟΝ ΣΟΥ ΙΔΕΙΝ ΔΙΑΦΘΟΡΑΝ, εἰρημένον, —— ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείφθη εἰς ᾅδου ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, &c. *Ibid.* p. 34.

[c] Ἁρμοδίως μὲν ἔφαν, καὶ οἰκείως τὰς μαρτυρίας παρήγαγες. *Ibid.*

[d] Τὸ μὲν τοι μέχρι τάφου φθάσαν, ἡ δὲ μέχρι ᾅδου διαβᾶσα, —— καὶ ἡ μὲν τάφου σωματικῶ ἐπιδεχομένου ἐπίβασιν, ἡ δὲ ᾅδου ἀσώματον. *Tom.* 1. *adverſ. Apollinar. de Incarn. Chriſt.* p. 626.

ceived that which was incorporeal: And therefore he thus interrogates the *Apollinarians*, [a] How then will you ſay, that there was *an heavenly Mind in* Chriſt *inſtead of an human Soul? Was his Body divided into two Parts? Did one Part appear in the Grave, and another in Hell? How was it poſſible for him without a Soul to deſcend into Hell?* Where you ſee, that he makes it to be ridiculous and abſurd to affirm, That our Saviour's Body went into Hell, ſince that was committed to the Grave: After which he proceeds to prove, That it was impious and blaſphemous to attribute it to his Divinity; [b] *How could the Word,* ſaith he, *deſcend into Hell, or demonſtrate the Reſurrection therefrom? Did he ſupply the place of our Souls, that he might faſhion the Image of our Reſurrection? How is it poſſible to imagine ſuch things concerning God? Such Reaſonings are altogether contrary to the Holy Scriptures:* For, if this were true, it would follow, That

[a] Πῶς ἓν λίσητε, ἀντὶ δ ἔτωθεν ἀνθρώπου, δ ἐν ἡμῖν, νῦς ἐπουρά-νιος ἐν Χριστῷ; μήτι γε δίχῃ με-ρίσας τ ἔξωθεν, ἐ ἐν τάφῳ ἐπε-δείκνυτο, ἐ ἐν ᾅδῃ; — πῶς εἰς ᾅδ καταῆλθεν. *Ibid.* p. 630.

[b] Πῶς ὁ λόγος τ εἰς ᾅδ ἐπίβα-σιν ἐποιήσατο, ἢ πῶς τ ἐξ ᾅδ ἀνά-στασιν ἐπεδείκνυτο; μήτις αὐτὸς ἀντὶ τ ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς ἀνίστατο, ἵνα τ ἡμετέρας ἀναστάσεως τ εἰκόνα ἀρμό-σῃ); ἐ πῶς οἷόν τε περὶ Θεῦ ταῦτα ἐνοεῖν, &c. *Ibid.* p. 646.

[a] *the Divinity ſhould be raiſed; for it is neceſſary, that ſome one ſhould begin the Reſurrection from Hell, that ſo there may be a perfect Reſurrection, a diſſolution of Death, and a diſmiſſion of the Spirits held there: Now,* ſaith he, *if the Word underwent this, what is become of that neceſſary attribute of the Deity,* viz. *Immutability and Unchangeableneſs?* In all which Quotations, we may obſerve the force of *Athanaſius*'s Argument to lye here, That ſeeing Chriſt *deſcended into Hell*, and that it was impious to aſcribe that Action to his Divinity, and abſurd to attribute it to his Body, that therefore of neceſſity he had an human Soul, by which he performed that Deſcent in the ſame manner as the reſt of Mankind do: Upon which account, the Author of the *Dialogues* concerning the *Holy Trinity*, extant amongſt the Works of *Athanaſius*, in that Dialogue, which is profeſſedly againſt theſe Hereticks, affirms: That Chriſt [b] *could not be in Hell without an human Soul*; and that as he could not be in the Grave

[a] Ἔσαι ὃ ἐξ ἀναστάσεως ἐσιεμένος ὁ λόγος καθ' ὑμᾶς· ἀνάγκη γάρ τινα ἐξ ἅδου τ ἀρχὴν τ ἀναστάσεως εἰληφέναι, ἵνα τελεία ᾖ ἡ ἀνάστασις, καὶ ὁ θανάτου ἡ λύσις, καὶ τ ἐκεῖσε πνευμάτων ἡ ἀπόλυσις· εἰ ὃ ταῦτα ὁ λόγος πέπονθε, πῶς τὸ ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον ὁ λόγος; *Tom.* 1. *de Salut. advent. Jeſ. Chriſt. adverſ. Apollinar.* p. 648.

[b] Ἐν ἅδου ψυχάς, χρείαν εἶχεν ψυχῆς. *Tom.* 2. *de S. Trinitat. Dial.* 4. p. 245.

Grave without a Body, ſo neither [a] *could he be in Hell without a Soul.*

[a] Εἰ μὴ εἶχεν τὸ χωριζομένῳ ψυχῇ μεθ' ἧς καὶ τοῖς ἐν ᾅδου διαγωνίσασθαι. *Ibidem.*

But this Article of the *Deſcent into Hell*, was not only pitch'd upon to be inſerted in the Creed, becauſe of its aptneſs and pertinency to contradict and refute this Hereſy, but the Introducers of it might probably have had this alſo in their view, *viz.* that it naturally falls in with the Paſſion and Humiliation of *Chriſt*, without diſturbing the Order of the ancient Creed, or cauſing any very ſenſible variation therefrom; and methodically continues on the ſame Argument with the precedent Actions of our Saviour recorded in the Creed, *viz.* the Proof and Declaration of his Incarnation and Humanity; only with this difference, that whereas the former aſſert the reality of his human Body, this proves the certainty of his reaſonable Soul; that he was a perfect Man, conſiſting of Spirit as well as Fleſh, being thereby prepared to be a complete Saviour of all his Followers, both of Soul and Body.

Now as for the Time when this Article was introduced into the Catho-

lick Symbol, it muſt be confeſſed to have been very late: The firſt Creed wherein it is uſually thought to be found, is in that of the Church of *Aquileia*, repeated by *Ruffinus*, who withal aſſures us, That at that time [a] *this Clauſe was neither in the Roman nor Oriental Creeds*: By which, I ſuppoſe, he means the publick Creeds uſed by thoſe Churches at Baptiſm, ſeeing I find it before his time in the particular Creed of a private Father, *viz.* of *Epiphanius*, or rather in an Expoſition of the Creed, by him, where, after the Death and Burial of *Chriſt*, it follows, That his Godhead [b] *accompanied his holy Soul into Hell, and by his own Power looſened the Pains thereof*; as alſo in the Creed of St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, wherein it is recited, That Chriſt [c] *ſuffered, was crucified, and buried, and deſcended into the nethermoſt Parts*. But, putting aſide theſe two Creeds, the *Deſcent into Hell* is not to be found in any

[a] In Eccleſiæ Romanæ Symbolo non habetur additum, deſcendit ad inferna: Sed neque in Orientis Eccleſiis habetur hic Sermo. *Expoſ. in Symb. Apoſt.* §. 20. p. 570.

[b] Συſκαλελθόσης τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ εἰς τὰ καλαχθόνια,— καὶ λυτάσης ὠδῖνας ἅδε ἐν ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ. *Adverſ. Hæreſ. lib.* 3. *in Compend. Fid. Catholi.* p. 463.

[c] Παθόνλα, ταφέντα, καλελθόνλα εἰς τὰ καλαχθόνια. *Catech.* 4. p. 27.

any Catholick Creed, whether publick or private, till the time of *Ruffinus*, which was about four hundred Years after *Chriſt*, I ſay, in any *Catholick* Creed, becauſe it was introduced ſome time before, by a Party of *Arians*, in their Creed propoſed at the great Council of *Ariminum*, held under the Emperour *Conſtantius*, *Anno* 359, and confirmed by him: The conſideration of the temper and diſpoſition of which Council, may give us ſome light into the occaſion and manner of the Introduction thereof.

Now it is well known, that at that Synod the *Arians* employed the greateſt dexterity and cunning to buoy up their Cauſe, and to depreſs that of the Orthodox, making uſe of all proper means thereunto, as by diſguiſing their own Tenets, unfairly repreſenting the Opinions of others, and above all, endeavouring to leſſen the Authority of the *Nicene* Council, and to antiquate the Form of Faith appointed thereby: For which end, they drew up a new Formulary, wherein the word Οὐσία, or *Subſtance*, that the Son was of the ſame Subſtance with the Father, which was part of the *Nicene* Creed, was wholly omitted, under pretence, that

that word being not in Scripture, it was very unfit to be made part of a Creed, and that more eſpecially, becauſe it had been found by paſt experience, that it did rather diſtract than ſatisfy Mens Underſtandings and Apprehenſions. But now leſt this ſhould too much alarm the Orthodox, whom they were willing to keep quiet and lull aſleep, they inſerted other words, which did ſeem ſufficiently to expreſs their deteſtation of the *Arian* Hereſy, as that Chriſt *was the only begotten Son of God, begotten of him before all Time, God of God, in every thing like unto his Father who begot him:* And to make ſure work, that they might in all Points appear to abandon the Hereſy of *Arius*, and all his Followers, and approve themſelves to be truly Orthodox, they did not content themſelves with a pretended Denial of his Hereſy, which related to the Divinity of the Son of God; but they alſo added in the Confeſſion of their Faith, that our Lord *deſcended into Hell*, deſigning thereby to purge themſelves from the imputation of denying *Chriſt*'s human Soul; which the [a] *Lucianiſtæ*, and others of them did, but probably

[a] Λουκιανισταὶ αἱρετικοὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ψυχὴν ἀληθεύειν. *Epiphan. Serm. Ancorat.* p. 483.

bably they themſelves did not; that ſo by proteſting heartily and ſincerely againſt one Hereſy, of which they were ſuſpected, they might be the more eaſily credited as to their denial of the reſt: And thus as on the one hand they cleared and vindicated themſelves, ſo it is not improbable, but that on the other hand they had an eye to *Apollinarius* their great impugner, (who had very likely about this time, given ſome jealouſies of his Inclination to the forementioned Hereſy,) and threw in this Article on purpoſe to confound the Orthodox, by affording them a ſubject of new Debates between themſelves, and to diſgrace *Apollinarius*, and by a too uſual, though a moſt unreaſonable Conſequence, the Catholick Faith its ſelf, of which he had been hitherto a moſt noted and eminent Defender. Now, I ſay, for theſe and ſuch like Reaſons, it is moſt probable, that in the Confeſſion of the *Arians* at *Ariminum*, mention is not only made of Chriſt's [a] *being crucified and dead*, but *alſo that he deſcended into Hell, to perform thoſe things which were neceſſary for him there*

[a] Σταυρωθέντα καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια καταελθόντα, ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε οἰκονομήματα, ὃν πυλωροὶ ᾅδου ἰδόντες ἔφριξαν. *Apud Socrat. Eccleſ. Hiſtor. lib.* 2. *c.* 37. p. 133.

to do, at whoſe ſight the Porters of Hell trembled: And the Year following, the *Acacians*, a particular Sect of the *Arians*, in a Synod at *Conſtantinople*, aſſented to the foreſaid Confeſſion of *Ariminum*, with ſome few Explications and Additions; amongſt which they added the word *Buried*, and thus read that which relates to the Humiliation of *Chriſt*, [a] *Crucified, Dead, and Buried, deſcended into the nethermoſt Parts, whom Hell alſo feared:* After which, *Apollinarius* declaring himſelf more openly for this Hereſy, the Orthodox found themſelves under a neceſſity of abandoning and renouncing him; wherefore, his Hereſy was condemned by a Synod at *Alexandria*, *Anno* 362, and by another at *Rome*, *Anno* 373: And laſt of all, according to the Example given them by the *Arians*, an Antidote was inſerted thereagainſt in the Creed, and the reality of *Chriſt*'s rational Soul was declared by that undeniable Argument of his *deſcending into Hell*; as in *Epiphanius*'s Expoſition of the Creed, after our Saviour's Death and Burial, it follows:

[a] *That*

[a] Σταυρωθέντα καὶ ἀποθανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ εἰς τὰ κατώτατα μέρη διεληλυθότα, οὓς τινας καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ᾅδης ἔπληξεν. *Idem. Ibid. c.* 41. p. 154.

[a] *That his Deity accompanied his Soul into Hell, delivered from thence the captive Souls, broke the Sting of Death, rent in ſunder thoſe Bars and Adamantine Chains, and by his Power looſened the Bonds of Hell; from whence he returned with his Soul, not leaving his Soul in Hell, nor ſuffering his Fleſh to ſee Corruption:* And St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* writes on this Article, That our Saviour [b] *deſcended into the lower Parts, that from thence he might redeem the Juſt:* After which, the firſt Creed wherein we find this Article, is in that of *Aquileia*, recorded by *Ruffinus*, in which indeed this Clauſe is expreſſed with greater Latitude than in our modern Symbol, it being there, *deſcendit ad Inferna*, or, *he deſcended into the lower Parts*; wherein the Burial might be included and deſigned, and that more eſpecially, becauſe the Sepulture of our Saviour is not therein expreſſed; but immediately after his Crucifixion under *Pontius Pilate*, comes this Clauſe, that he *deſcended into the*

[a] Θεότητος, — συνκαταβάσης τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, ἐλούσης ἐκεῖθεν τὰ τῶν ψυχῶν αἰχμαλωτίαν, κλασάσης κέντρον θανάτου, διαῤῥηξάσης τὰ κλεῖθρα καὶ τοὺς μοχλοὺς τοὺς ἀδαμαντίνους, καὶ λυσάσης ὠδῖνας ἅδου ἐν ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ. Ἀνελθούσης σωὺ τῇ ψυχῇ, μὴ ἐαθείσης τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς ἅδου, μηδὲ τὴν σαρκὸς ἰωσαχίας διαφθορᾶν. *Adverſ. Hareſ. lib.* 3. *in Compend. Fid. Cathol.* p. 465.

[b] Καταβῆναι εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖθεν λυτρώσηται τοὺς δικαίους. *Catech.* 4. p. 27.

lower Parts; but afterwards, when the *Deſcent* was received into the *Roman* and *Oriental* Creeds, the Burial was there retained, and inſtead of the *lower Parts*, it was ſaid that he deſcended *into Hell:* Which two Conſiderations make it unreaſonable to be imagined, that the *Deſcent* in our Creed ſhould be applied to the Burial of *Chriſt*'s Body; for that having been already mentioned, it would be a Tautology in ſo brief a Compendium to repeat it again in other words; and according to the Propriety and Idiom both of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, the moſt natural and eaſy Interpretation thereof, and which beſt agrees with the Order and Method of the Creed, is the ſame with what hath been already related; which to prevent Miſtakes, I ſhall again repeat, *viz.* That by aſſenting to this Clauſe, that Chriſt *deſcended into Hell*, it was thereby intended for the Reaſon aforeſaid, *viz.* the aſſerting the reality of his human Soul, to declare our Belief that as upon the Separation of his Body and Soul by Death, his Body was buried in the Earth; ſo his ſpotleſs and immaculate Soul by a true and local Motion, went unto the inviſible and bleſſed Habitation of holy and pious Souls,

Souls, where it remained in Peace and Happineſs with the ſeparated Spirits of the Faithful, in a triumphant and believing Expectation of the time of his Reſurrection, which was the Third Day after; when his Soul was delivered from the Power of Hell, and his Body from the Corruption of the Grave, according to that Text of the *Pſalmiſt* on which this Article is founded, cited by St. *Peter* in *Acts* ii. 27. *Thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, neither wilt thou ſuffer thine Holy One to ſee Corruption.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Reſurrection *of* Chriſt *being a neceſſary Fundamental of our Religion, was always part of the Creed, by which our Belief is declared, that* Chriſt *roſe from the Dead, and returned to Life again. The farther conſideration whereof, is referred to the Article of the Reſurrection of the Body. The reaſon for which our Lord's Reſurrection is ſaid to be* in *and not* after the Third Day. *The* Aſcenſion *of our Saviour was introduced againſt an Opinion of the* Apelleians, viz. *that at his Aſcenſion, his Body was reſolved into its firſt Principles, and aſcended not up on high, or* into Heaven. *The nomination of which place, might probably have been deſigned in contradiction to a Conceit of* Hermogenes, *that his Body went into the Body of the Sun.* Sitting at the right Hand of God the Father *explained; by which, we muſt not imagine* Chriſt *confined to that ſingular Poſture, but it ſignifies his Advance-*

Advancement to the full exerciſe of his regal Office; all things being ſubjected unto him by the Father, *who was infinitely able to do it, ſeeing he is* Almighty; *which word in the* Greek, *is different from that uſed in the beginning of the Creed, and in this place denotes the irreſiſtibleneſs and efficacy of God's Power. This Clauſe is firſt found in the Creed of* Tertullian's, *and was inſerted, either as a continued proof with the* Aſcenſion, *that our Lord's Body was not diſſolved a little after his Reſurrection, or rather was deſigned againſt ſome Hereticks, who imagined the Body of* Chriſt *to be in a ſtupid and unconcerned poſture in Heaven, and not to be ſate down at his Father's right Hand, exerciſing all Power and Authority for the good of his Church. A brief Explication of* From thence he ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead. *Three Interpretations of the* Quick and the Dead; *the laſt moſt natural, that by the* Quick *are meant thoſe who ſhall be alive at the coming of our Lord, and by the* Dead, *thoſe who ſhall then be actually void of Life.*

This

This Article was deſigned againſt the Marcionites *and* Gnoſticks; *of whom, the one blaſphemed the final Judge, the other the Judgment.* Marcion *with his Maſter* Cerdon, *held, That the true God, and his Son* Chriſt Jeſus, *were all Mercy and Love, and would never judge the World; which Opinion opened a Flood-Gate to all Impiety; in oppoſition whereunto, the Creed declares, That he ſhall come to judge. The word* Judging *explained, and ſuppoſeth a liberty and freedom of Action in the Perſon judged, and a Rule by which he is judged; both which were denied by the* Gnoſticks, *as by the* Valentinians, Baſilidians, Carpocratians, *and others, who all ſprung from* Simon Magus, *and united in theſe two Hereſies, That Man was fatally neceſſitated to all his Actions, and that he ſhould not be judged according to his Works, but according to his ſpiritual Seed, Election, and the like: Which Tenets were attended with moſt abominable Conſequences; and therefore againſt them both, it was inſerted in the Creed, That Chriſt* ſhall come to judge the Quick and the Dead: *Wherein,*

Wherein, First, *The liberty of Man was acknowledged, which is farther evident from that the word* Αὐτεξέσιον, *or, that* Man hath a Power over himſelf, *was in ſeveral of the ancient Creeds part of this Article; the Fathers could not imagine a juſt Judgment, without ſuppoſing a Freedom of the Perſon judged.* Secondly, *It is farther declared by this Clauſe, that Men ſhall be judged according to their Works; for which reaſon, whilſt the Hereſy of the* Gnoſticks *raged, it was expreſſed with a ſuitable Periphraſis to prevent any equivocating Evaſions. A brief Repetition of the true intended ſenſe of this Article.*

HITHERTO we have beheld our Mediatour and Redeemer in the inglorious and mean Eſtate of his Humanity, throughout the ſeveral ſteps of his Humiliation, home to the laſt and moſt abaſing of them, *viz.* the ſeparation of his two eſſential Parts by Death, and the particular confining of them to their reſpective Manſions and Habitation: His Exaltation now follows;

follows; and that Sun of Righteouſneſs, which did ſet in Redneſs and Obſcurity, now ariſes with Light and Splendour; the Earth could not detain his Body, nor Hell his Soul, but each delivered up their Prey; for according to the next Article in the Creed, *the third Day he roſe again from the Dead*; that is, his Body was delivered from the Grave, and his Soul from Hell, and being reunited, conſtituted the ſame complete Man and Perſon that was before. The certainty of which Reſurrection, is abſolutely neceſſary to the Chriſtian Religion, ſeeing without that it would be no better than a vain and frivolous Impoſture, or a mere Cheat and Deluſion.

The great Advantage and Benefit that the Goſpel promiſes, is Remiſſion of Sins; the aſſurance whereof, depends upon the certainty of our Saviour's Reſurrection; for that declares the virtue of his Sufferings, and the efficacy of his Undertakings for us; that God's Anger is now appeaſed, and he become propitious to Mankind. The Death of *Chriſt.* is the ground of our Abſolution and Pardon, but his Reſurrection accompliſhed the Collation of them; as [a] *he was delivered for our Offences,*

[a] Rom. iv. 25.

Offences, ſo he was raiſed again for our Juſtification; on which account St. *Paul* argues, That [a] *if* Chriſt *had not been riſen, our Faith is in vain*; *we are yet in our Sins.* The Guilt thereof, or Obligation to Puniſhment is not yet removed, ſeeing our Surety ſtill remains under Death, the effect and conſequence of them. [b] 1 Cor. xv. 17.

Wherefore, ſeeing that on theſe and other Accounts which might be mentioned, the Reſurrection of *Chriſt* is ſo neceſſary a part of the Chriſtian Faith, we may well conclude that it had a place in the Creed from the beginning of Chriſtianity: To the belief whereof, we may be farther induced from this conſideration, That it was the peculiar End and Deſign of the Apoſtolical Office, to [b] *be witneſſes of* Chriſt's *Reſurrection*: And St. *Paul* look'd upon it to be ſo neceſſary an Article, that he doth as it were, make Salvation and the whole Chriſtian Religion to depend on it alone; [c] *The Righteouſneſs of Faith*, ſaith he, *ſaith thus*, id eſt, **it is the purport of the Chriſtian Inſtitution**, *That if thou ſhalt confeſs with thy Mouth the Lord* Jeſus, *and ſhalt believe in thy Heart that God raiſed him from the Dead, thou ſhalt be ſaved.* [b] Acts i. 22, xiii. 31. [c] Rom. x. 6, 9.

By

By this Article it is declared, That we believe that *Jeſus Chriſt* our Saviour, did truly and really ariſe from the Dead, and return to Life again: But now; foraſmuch as this Article is coincident with that of the *Reſurrection of the Body*, and the particular Reſurrection of *Chriſt* the Head, cannot well be diſtinctly conſidered from the Reſurrection of his Members, but the one implies and proves the other: I ſhall therefore refer the farther conſideration thereof to the Article of *the Reſurrection of the Body*, and only take notice in this place, of the time when *Chriſt* aroſe, which the Creed declares to be the *Third Day*.

Wherein it is obſervable, that it is ſaid to be ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, in the Third Day, and not after the Third Day: For, as *Auguſtin* remarks, our Lord [a] *was not three whole Days in the Grave*, but only the entire ſecond Day, and part of the firſt and laſt; the whole time of the diſunion of his Soul and Body by Death, being not above ſix and thirty Hours or thereabouts: Upon which account, the Compilers of the Creed did with good reaſon ſo cautiouſly expreſs

[a] Ipſum triduum non totum & plenum fuiſſe. *Tom.* 3. *de Trinit. lib.* 4. *c.* 6. p. 402.

preſs the time of his Reſurrection to be *in the Third Day*, and *not after three Days*.

Iſidore the *Peluſiote*, hath an whole Epiſtle concerning this Matter, to anſwer their ſilly Enquiries, as he terms them, who would ſearch into the Cauſe of *Chriſt*'s Reſurrection before he had remained three whole Days in the Grave; where, after the Allegation of ſeveral Reaſons therefore, he adds, [a] *But if I would deſcend to the exact and accurate Explanation of this Queſtion, I would ſay that* Chriſt *only ſaid, that he would riſe again the third Day; and ſo you have* Friday, Saturday, *which concludes with Sun-ſet; and after* Saturday *he aroſe, being in the Grave part of the firſt and laſt Day, and the whole of the middle Day; for in three Days, he ſaid he would riſe again, and not after three Days. Deſtroy this Temple, ſaith he, and in three Days I will raiſe it up again: And in like manner the Prophet predicting it, ſaith, After two*

[a] Εἰ δ' ἐγὼ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ἀκριβείαν καλαληψέως χρὴ ἐκεῖνο ἂν εἴποιμι, τὴν τρίτην εἶπεν ἀναστήσεσθαι, ἔχεις τὸν Παρασκευὴν, ἔχεις τὸ Σάββατον ἕως δυσμῶν ἡλίου, καὶ μὴν τὸ Σάββατον ἀνέστη, ἑκατέρων μὲν ἀψάμενον, τοῦ δὲ μέσου πληρώσας, ὡς τελοῦσι μὲν εἶπεν ἀναστήσεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ μιᾶς τρεῖς ἡμέρας, λύσατε μὲν φησὶ τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ὡς τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτὸν, &c. *Lib.* 2. *Epiſt.* 212. p. 165.

Days will he revive us, and in the third Day he will raiſe us up, and we ſhall live in his ſight. From whence it appears, that it is not without reaſon, that the Creed ſo exactly mentions the time of our Saviour's Reſurrection, ſeeing it was not after three Days, but *in the third Day* that he roſe again.

After our Lord's Reſurrection, his *Aſcenſion into Heaven* follows, which imports, That he left this World, and mounting through the Air, aſcended into the Heaven of Heavens, the Throne of God, and the Habitation of the Moſt High; on the truth whereof depends our future Aſcenſion: For, if our Saviour be not aſcended into Heaven, it will be impoſſible for us ever to aſcend thither. This is the Foundation of our Hope, the Anchor of our Soul, both ſure and ſtedfaſt, That the Forerunner, even *Jeſus*, is entred for us within the Veil, that he is gone to prepare a place for us, and will come again, and receive us unto himſelf; that where he is, there we may be alſo. As for the occaſion of its being introduc'd into the Creed, it ſeems to have been taken from the *Apelleians*, a Spawn of the *Marcionites*, ſo

ſo called from one [a] *Apelles* a Scholar of *Marcion*'s, *who*, as *Tertullian* writes, *did not affirm with* Marcion *the Body of* Chriſt *to be fantaſtical and imaginary, but that when he came down from Heaven, he framed unto himſelf a ſidereal and an aereal Fleſh, which at his Aſcenſion he reſtored to its primitive place; and having thus diſperſed every part of his Body, his Spirit alone was received into Heaven:* Or, as *Epiphanius* reports their Hereſy to be, That our Lord [b] *in his coming down from Heaven to Earth, gathered unto himſef a Body from the four Elements in which he was truly crucified, and after his Reſurrection ſhewed the ſame Fleſh to his Diſciples; after which, having finiſhed the Diſpenſation of his Incarnation, he reſtored unto every one of the Elements that which he had received from them; and ſo diſſolving*

[a] Apelles diſcipulus Marcionis; — Chriſtum neque in Phantaſmate dicit fuiſſe, — ſed in eo quòd è ſuperioribus partibus deſcenderet, ipſo deſcenſu ſidereum ſibi carnem & aëream contexuiſſe, hunc in reſurrectione ſingulis quibuſque elementis, quæ in deſcenſu ſuo mutuata fuiſſent, in aſcenſu reddidiſſe, & ſic diſperſis quibuſque corporis ſui partibus, in cœlo ſpiritum tantùm reddidiſſe. *De præſcript. adverſ. Haret.* p. 96.

[b] Ἐν τῇ ἔρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπουρανίων, ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν γλῶ, καὶ ζωήσαμένην ἑαυτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων σῶμα, — ἐσταυρώθη ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτὸν τὴν σάρκα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μαθηταῖς, καὶ ἀναλύσας αὐτὸν τὴν συνανθρώπησιν ἑαυτῷ, ἀπεμέρισε πάλιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν στοιχείων τὸ ἴδιον, — καὶ ὅτως διαλύσας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν τὸ ἔνσαρκον σῶμα, ἀνέπλε εἰς τὸ ὁμοιον, ὅθεν καὶ ἦκε. *Adverſ. Hareſ. in Hareſ. Apel.* p. 167.

ſolving his fleſhly Body, he aſcended into Heaven, from whence he came. Now, I ſay, it is very probable, that in oppoſition to this Notion, the *Aſcenſion* was inſerted in the Symbol or Rule of Faith: Whence, *Epiphanius* in his [a] confutation thereof, makes great uſe of this Argument of the *Aſcenſion*; and elſewhere he thus explains this Article it ſelf, [b] *He aſcended into Heaven, not diveſting himſelf of his holy Body, but uniting it unto a ſpiritual one:* Not much different wherefrom, *Irenæus* thus repeats this Article in one of his Creeds, That we muſt believe [c] *the fleſhly reception of* Jeſus Chriſt *our Lord, into Heaven:* Which was a moſt formal and avowed condemnation of the ſaid *Apelleians*, who owned that his *Soul*, but denied that his *Fleſh* aſcended into Heaven; [d] *being offended*, as St. *Auſtin* writes, *at the Chriſtian Faith, that an earthly Body ſhould be aſſumed into Heaven; not knowing what is written, it is ſown a natural Body, it is raiſed a ſpiritual Body.*

[a] *Ibid.* p. 169.

[b] Ἀνελθὼν εἰς οὐρανὺς, —— οὐκ ἀποθέμενος τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα, ἀλλὰ ζωοποιήσας, εἰς τὸ πνευματικόν. *Anacephal.* p. 531.

[c] Τῷ ἐνσαρκον εἰς τὺς οὐρανὺς ἀνάληψιν τῦ ἀγαπητῦ Ἰησῦ. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 2. p. 35.

[d] Solet autem quoſdam offendere, —— quòd credamus aſſumptum terrenum corpus in cœlum: neſciunt quomodo dictum ſit, ſeminatur corpus animale, ſurget corpus ſpirituale. *Tom.* 3. *de fide & Symbol.* p. 189.

Now

Now the place unto which our Saviour aſcended, is ſaid to be *Heaven*; by which, we are not to underſtand the Clouds, ſometimes called the Clouds of Heaven, nor the ſtarry Heaven, but the third Heaven, the Heaven of Heavens, the Throne of God, and the more immediate Habitation of the Almighty: The nomination of which place, might probably have been deſigned in contradiction to a fooliſh conceit of an ancient Heretick called *Hermogenes*, who, according to the relation of *Theodoret*, affirmed, That [a] *the Body of our Lord was was placed in the Sun*; wherein he was afterwards followed by the [b] *Seleuciani*, and others, abuſing to that end that Text of the *Pſalmiſt*, *Pſal.* xix. 4. *In them hath he ſet a Tabernacle for the Sun*; reading it according to the miſ-tranſlation of the *Septuagint*, ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο τὸ σκηνώμα αὐτοῦ, [c] *in the Sun hath he ſet his Tabernacle*; from thence concluding, That our Saviour's Body was after his Reſurrection, conveyed to the Sphere of the Sun, where it was to remain till his ſecond coming:

[a] Οὗτος δὲ κυρίου τὸ σῶμα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ εἶπεν ἀποτεθῆναι. *Epit. Haret. Fab. lib.* I. *c.* 19. p. 92.

[b] *Auguſtin. de Hareſ. c.* 59. p. 193.

[c] Accipientes occaſionem de Pſalmo, ubi legitur, in Sole poſuit Tabernaculum ſuum. *Id. Ib.*

Which ſilly Imagination ſeems to have been confuted by this Article, that *he aſcended into Heaven*, as alſo by what follows next to be conſidered, *viz.* that *he there ſitteth at the right Hand of God the Father Almighty*, till he ſhall come to judge both the Quick and the Dead. Which Clauſe I ſhall firſt give the Explication of, and then enquire into the time and occaſion of its introduction into the Creed, *And ſitteth on the right Hand of God the Father Almighty.*

By his *ſitting*, we are not to imagine him confined to that ſingular poſture of Body, in a diſtinction from all others, ſeeing *Stephen* ſaw him [a] *ſtanding* on the right Hand of God; but by it we are to underſtand his Habitation, Manſion, and continuance at the Father's right Hand, as *Auguſtin* upon this Article writes, That [b] *by ſitting, we are to apprehend dwelling, as we ſay of any one, that he ſate in that Countrey three Years*, that is, *that he dwelt there ſo long.*

[a] Acts vii. 55.

[b] Sedere intelligite habitare, quomodo dicimus de quocunque homine, in illâ Patriâ ſedit per tres annos. *Tom.* 9. *Symb. ad Catechumen. lib.* 1. p. 1388.

By the Father's *right Hand*, we are not to fancy, that he hath really any ſuch Parts as *Hands*, or the like; for being

being a Spirit, he is incorporeal, without any bodily Members or Organs; but it is a metaphorical Expreſſion, denoting a place of Power, Honour and Happineſs, ſignifying that our Lord is advanced in Heaven, to a place of great Dignity, Bliſs and Authority; [a] *We believe*, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, *that he ſits at the right Hand of God the Father, not as though God had an human Shape, a right and a left ſide; but by the right, we are to underſtand the higheſt Happineſs, where is Righteouſneſs, Peace, and Joy; as the Goats are placed on the left, that is, in Miſery and Torment.*

[a] Credimus quòd ſedet ad dextram Dei Patris, nec ideo tamen quaſi humanâ formâ circumſcriptum eſſe Deum Patrem arbitrandum eſt, ut de illo cogitantibus dextrum aut ſiniſtrum latus animo occurrat, — ad dextram ergo intelligendum eſt dictum eſſe in ſummâ beatitudine, ubi & juſtitia, & pax & gaudium eſt; ſicut ad ſiniſtram hœdi conſtituuntur, id eſt, in miſeriâ, &c. *Tom.* 3. *de Fide & Symb.* p. 190.

But that which, I ſuppoſe, was chiefly deſigned in the Creed, by this Phraſe of *ſitting at the right Hand of God the Father*, was this, *viz.* a Declaration of the complete Advancement of *Chriſt* our Lord, to his regal Office, and of his plenary Exerciſe of his Kingly Power; God [b] *ſetting him at his own right Hand in the heavenly places, far above all Principalities, and Powers, and Might, and Dominion, and*

[b] Epheſ. i. 20, 21, 22.

every Name that is named, not only in this World, but alſo in that which is to come, putting all things under his Feet, and giving him to be the Head over all things unto the Church. In which ſenſe it is interpreted by the Author of the Creeds, which are commonly aſcribed to St. *Auſtin*, That [a] *by the right Hand is to be underſtood, that Power which* Chriſt *as Man received*; that is, the Power of his mediatorial Kingdom, exerciſed in the Preſervation of his Church, and the ſubduing of his Enemies; which Authority and Rule ſhall be ſo exerciſed till the general Judgment-day, when his whole Church ſhall be completely ſaved, and all his Enemies ſhall be eternally vanquiſhed and deſtroyed; after which time, [b] *he ſhall deliver up the Kingdom to God, even the Father*; but, until that time, [c] *till all his Enemies are made his Foot-ſtool, he ſhall ſit at the Father's right Hand*; that is, he ſhall as Mediator, exerciſe an abſolute Authority, and an unlimited Dominion over all: Which ſenſe I do the rather chuſe to put upon theſe words, becauſe the word *Almighty* is farther added in this Article; wherein it is ſaid, That he ſitteth at the right

[a] Ipſam dexteram intelligite poteſtatem, quam accipit homo ille, &c. *Tom.* 9. *Symb. ad Catechum. lib.* 2. p. 1405.

[b] 1 Cor. xv. 24.

[c] Pſal. cx. 1.

Hand of God the Father *Almighty*; which word, though the ſame with that in the beginning of the Creed, both in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, yet is different from it in the *Greek*. In the beginning of the Creed, where it is ſaid, I believe in God the Father *Almighty*, the *Greek* word is Παντοκράτωρ, which properly ſignifies God's ſupreme and univerſal Dominion; but in this Article the *Greek* word is Παντοδυνάμου, which, in ſtrictneſs and propriety of Speech, denotes the efficacy and irreſiſtibleneſs of his Power and Operation, that he hath all things at his command and beck, able to diſpoſe of them without any controul or hinderance, as he himſelf pleaſeth according to the counſel of his Will: And ſo in this place this Attribute ſeems to have been ſuperadded to the Perſon of the *Father*, to confirm us in the belief of his Son's *ſitting at his right Hand*, or of his univerſal Diſpoſal and Government of all things, in the execution of his regal Office as Mediatour, becauſe the *Father*, who hath advanced him to that place of Dignity and Rule, is *Almighty*, of infinite Force and Efficacy, whom no Creature can reſiſt, but all are infinite Weakneſs and Imbecillity in compariſon of him.

Now,

Now, as for the time and occaſion of the Introduction and Settling of this Article in the Creed, there is very little ſaid concerning it in the Primitive Writers; it is in neither of the Creeds of *Irenæus*; but is firſt found in thoſe of *Tertullian*, and ſince his time uſed in moſt others.

According to the Interpretation which ſome of the Ancients give thereof, it ſeems to have been deſigned for no other end, than to be a continued proof of the ſame Point with the precedent Clauſe of the Aſcenſion, *viz.* that *Chriſt* did not loſe or diſſolve his human Body after his Reſurrection, but that with the ſame human Body he not only aſcended into Heaven, but is alſo ſate down at the right Hand of his Father, where he ſhall remain till the reſtitution of all things, when he ſhall come to judge the World, both the Quick and the Dead: According unto which, in the Epiſtle of *Damaſus* to *Paulinus*, amongſt the ſeveral *Anathemas* againſt the Hereticks of thoſe Times, there is this relation to our purpoſe; [a] *If any one ſhall not ſay, that* Chriſt *in the ſame Fleſh which he aſſumed here, is ſate down*

[a] Εἴ τις μὴ εἴπῃ, ὅτι ὡ Χριστὸς, ὥπερ ἀνέλαβε, καθέσε ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τ Πατρὸς, —— ἀνάθεμα ἔσω. *Apud Theodorit. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 5. *c.* 11. p. 215.

down at the right Hand of the Father, let him be accurſed: Where it is evident, that the Explication that he gave of this Article was, that *Chriſt* ſince his Aſcenſion into Heaven, continues ſtill there with the very ſame Body that he had on Earth; which exactly agrees with the Explanation of the Creed to the ſaid *Damaſus*, extant amongſt the Works of St. *Jerom*, but falſly attributed to him; wherein this Articles is thus unfolded, [a] *He ſitteth at the right Hand of God the Father, that nature of Fleſh remaining, in which he was born, and ſuffered, and alſo roſe again.*

[a] Sedet ad dextram Dei Patris, manente eâ naturâ carnis, in quâ natus & paſſus eſt, in quâ etiam reſurrexit. *Tom.* 9. p. 71.

But, inaſmuch as this Point was aſſerted by the foregoing Clauſe of the *Aſcenſion*, and this of our Lord's *Seſſion at his Father's right Hand*, is firſt found in the Creeds of *Tertullian*, it is not improbable, but that it was chiefly deſigned againſt another ſort of Perſons mentioned by the ſaid Father, who did indeed own the Aſcenſion of our Saviour's human Body into Heaven, but [c] *affirmed it to remain there in a ſtupid and unconcerned*

[b] Adfirmant carnem in cœlis vacuam ſenſu, ut vaginam exempto Chriſto ſedere. *De carne Chriſt.* p. 24.

manner

manner, void of Senſe, and without Chriſt, *as a Scabbard is when it is without a Sword:* Which Doctrine is directly condemned by this Article, which aſſures us, That our Mediatour liveth not in a regardleſs and unactive Temper in Heaven, but that ſince his Aſcenſion, he is *ſate down at his Father's right Hand*, having all Power and Authority committed into his Hands, which he continually exerts for the weal of his Church in the Government of the whole World, and of every Occurrent therein; which is not much different from the Explication that *Epiphanius* gives of this Article, which is, That *Chriſt* being aſcended into Heaven, [a] *ſate down at the right Hand of God the Father, and from thence ſent forth Preachers, Apoſtles and Evangeliſts into the whole World, as* Peter, James, Mark, Luke, Barnabas, Stephen, Paul, *and others; the laſt of whom he choſe out by his own Voice from Heaven:* So that he is not idle and unemployed in Heaven, but is *ſate down at the right Hand of God the Father Almighty*; from whom he hath received all Power and Authority, which he conſtantly exerciſes for his own

[a] Ἐκάθισεν ϲὺν δεξιᾷ ϖ Παλρὸς, ϖέμψας κήρυκας εἰς ὅλλω ϖ οἰκυμϑήλω, Σίμωνα Πέτρον, — μϖ τύτυς ϖ ϖάνλας, — Παῦλον, — ϵκλεξάμενον διὰ φωνῆς ἰδίας ἀπ' ὐρανῦ. *Anacephal.* p. 524.

own and his Father's Glory, and the good of his Church and People, and will ſtill continue ſo to do to the end of the World, when *he ſhall come from Heaven to judge both the Quick and the Dead.*

Which is the laſt Particular that is attributed unto the Son, and comes next in order to be conſidered; wherein I ſhall give firſt a brief Explication thereof, and then ſhew the occaſion and time of its being introduced into the Creed.

Now as for the Explication thereof, its ſenſe is very plain and obvious, *viz.* that at the end of the World our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhall come from Heaven to judge according to their Works, all Mankind, both *the Quick and the Dead*; which latter words I ſhall a little more explain, becauſe there was ſome difference in the Notions of the Ancients concerning them, which it may not be unneceſſary to mention.

Iſidore the *Peluſiote*, reckons up three Explications of this Phraſe; the firſt whereof is, That by [a] *the Quick and the Dead, may be underſtood the Bo-*

[a] Τὸ κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, τοῦτο ἐστὶ, τὸ καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα εἰς κρίσιν ἐλθόντας, καὶ ὅτε ἐν θαλάσσῃ κεχωσμένους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ κοινὸν τὴν σύναυλα ζωὰφθειραν ἐποιήσαντο, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἀπόθεσιν δίκαιον ἠνωμένως ὑφίξεσθαι. *Lib.* I. *Epiſt.* 222. p. 53.

dies

dies and Souls of Men, that one ſhall not be ſeparated from another, but as they have behaved themſelves alike here, ſo they ſhall receive an equal Reward hereafter: According unto which Interpretation, *Ruffinus* alſo writes, That [a] *by the* Quick *may be underſtood Souls, and by the* Dead *Bodies*.

[a] Vivos animos, corpora mortuos nominavit. *Expoſ. in Symb.* §. 32. p. 574.

The *ſecond* is, That [b] *by the Quick and Dead, are meant the good and bad*; which Opinion is not condemned, but judged probable both by St. [c] *Auſtin* and *Gennadius Maſſilienſis*; the latter of whom informs us, That [d] *Diodorus* Biſhop of *Tarſus*, who flouriſhed about the Year 380, attributed this ſenſe unto it, That *by the Quick and Dead, are ſignified the Godly and Ungodly.*

[b] Ζῶνλας τὰς ἀείζωον βίον ἢ θεοφιλῆ μελελθόνλας, νεκρῶναι τὰς νεκρωθένλας τοῖς ἁμαρλήμασι, &c. *Iſidor. Peluſiot. Ibid. ut antea.*

[c] Vivos juſtos, mortuos injuſtos. *Tom.* 3. *Enchir. ad Laur. c.* 53. p. 225.

[d] Juſtos & peccatores ſignificari, ſicut Diodorus putat. *Inter Oper. Auguſt. Tom.* 3. *de Eccleſ. Dogmat.* p. 261.

But the *third* Interpretation is the moſt natural and genuine, That [e] *by the Quick, are meant thoſe who ſhall be alive at the coming of our Lord, and*

[e] Κεῖναι τὰς τότε ζῶνλας, καλαλειφθένλας, ἢ τὰς ἤδη πρὸ αὐτῶν κοιμηθένλας. *Iſidor. Peluſiot. ibid. ut ſupra.* p. 54.

and by the Dead, thoſe who ſhall be then void of Life, and muſt then be raiſed to be brought to Judgment; which Explication is followed by [a] *Auguſtin*, [b] *Gennadius Maſſilienſis*, and others.

[a] *Tom.* 3. *Enchir. ad Laurent. c.* 53. p. 225.

[b] *Inter Opera Auguſt. Tom.* 3. *De Eccleſ. Dogmat.* p. 261.

So that taking in theſe three Explications of *the Quick and the Dead*, the meaning of this Article is no other than this, That all Mankind in Soul and Body, both good and bad, the dead as well as thoſe then living, ſhall appear at the laſt Day before the Tribunal of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, to receive from him according to what they reſpectively did in the Fleſh.

Now as for the occaſion of the inſerting this Article in the Creed, or the reaſon or cauſe of it, I apprehend it to have been two-fold; that it was deſigned to be an Antidote againſt two ſorts of moſt peſtilent Hereticks, *viz.* the *Marcionites* and the *Gnoſticks*; the former of whom blaſphemed the *Judge*, and the other ſubverted the *Judgment*: Againſt whom it is moſt pertinently repeated in the Creed, That *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf ſhall come to judge the World, that is, to diſpenſe Rewards and Puniſhments to every Man according to his

his Works. As for [a] *Marcion* and his Followers, they together with their Maſter [b] *Cerdon*, imagined two Gods; *the one an unknown, good, and merciful God, the other a juſt and ſevere God, the Maker and Creator of the World; the former, or the good God, they affirmed to be the Father of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *and that both he and his Son were nothing elſe but Pity, Grace and Love; that the Son's deſign in coming into the World, was only to ſave thoſe from the ſeverity of the Maker of the World who ſhould fly unto him; but as for others, though they ſhould be the moſt flagitious and abominable Sinners, yet he would never condemn or puniſh them:* Which monſtrous and horrid Tenet, opens a Floodgate to all Licentiouſneſs and Impiety; for if God be only good, and not alſo juſt, who will ever obey his Commandments, and eſpecially ſuch of them as are contrary to Men's ſenſual Inclinations and carnal Intereſts? If there be no

[a] Marcion præter Creatorem alium Deum ſolius bonitatis inducit. *Tertull. de Præſcript. adverſ. Hæret.* p. 82. *vid. Origen. Dialog.* 1, & 2.

[b] Cerdon introducit initia duo, id eſt, duos Deos, unum bonum, & alterum ſævum; bonum ſuperiorem, ſævum hunc, mundi creatorem. *Tertull. de præſcript. adverſ. Hæret.* p. 95. Cerdoniani—dogmatizant Deum legis ac Prophetarum non eſſe Patrem Chriſti, nec bonum Deum eſſe, ſed juſtum, Patrem verò Chriſti bonum. *Aug. de Hæreſ. c.* 21. p. 95.

no fear of a future Puniſhment, the Senſualiſts and Voluptuous are without contradiction the wiſeſt and moſt prudent Men; and it would be a moſt unaccountable Folly to mortify the Fleſh, to renounce the World, yea, and to deny Intereſt, Life, and all, to ſerve and obey that God, who is not at all diſpleaſed with any of our diſobedient Actions; and being not diſpleaſed, will never puniſh us, though we freely plunge our ſelves in all ſorts of Debaucheries and Impurities: On which account, in a juſt Deteſtation of this impious Doctrine, *Tertullian* elegantly cries out, [a] *Hear this, all ye Sinners, and ye who are not ſo yet, that ye may be ſo: Such a kind God is found, who is neither offended nor angry, nor revengeth, who hath no Fire burning in Hell, nor gnaſhing of Teeth in utter Darkneſs; he is altogether good; he prohibits Sin in words only; it is at your pleaſure, whether you will obey him or no; for, he doth not deſire to be feared by you.*

[a] Audite peccatores, quique nondum hoc eſtis, ut eſſe poſſitis; Deus melior inventus eſt, qui nec offenditur, nec iraſcitur, nec ulciſcitur, cui nullus ignis coquitur in gehennâ, cui nullus dentium frendor horret in exterioribus tenebris, bonus tantùm eſt; denique prohibet delinquere, ſed literis ſolis: in vobis eſt, ſi velitis illi obſequium ſubſignare,—timorem enim non vult. *Adverſ. Marcion. lib.* 1. p. 145.

Wherefore, in contradiction to this deſtructive Tenet of all Religion and

Piety, the Rule of Faith declares, That God is not only good, but that he is alſo juſt; that he is a Judge as well as a Saviour; that he and his Son are Juſtice and Equity, as well as Grace and Mercy; that *Chriſt Jeſus* did not only die and riſe again for the good and weal of Mankind, but that *he will alſo come to judge the Quick and the Dead*, to examine into all Men's Carriages and Behaviours, and to reward them ſuitably thereunto; not only to give

[a] Rom. ii. 8, 9. *Glory and Honour, Immortality and eternal Life* to the Penitent and Believing, but alſo to *render Indignation and Wrath, Tribulation and Anguiſh to every Soul of Man that doth evil.*

Now that this was the reaſon for which the Name or Perſon of the ſupreme or final Judge is mentioned in the Creed, ſeems very probable from the frequent uſe which the Fathers make of this Argument of *Chriſt*'s coming to judge the World, to prove, that God is juſt and righteous as well as kind and good, as may be ſeen in the Writings of [b] *Tertullian*, [c] *Irenæus*, and others: And it appears to be more evident from the third Book of *Irenæus*, which is chiefly levelled againſt the *Marcionites*; in the beginning whereof, after an account

[b] *Adverſ. Marcion. lib.* 4. p. 221.

[c] *Lib.* 4. *c.* 78. p. 313.

count given of *Polycarp*'s reception of *Marcion* at *Smyrna*, calling him the Firſt-born of Satan, and of the care taken by the Apoſtles and Apoſtolick Men, to preſerve the Faith of the Goſpel pure and entire from all manner of Hereſies whatſoever, he proceeds to repeat the Catholick Creed, wherein this Article is expreſſed with this circumlocution, That [a] *he ſhall come to be the Saviour of thoſe who are ſaved, and to be the Judge of thoſe who are judged, ſending into eternal Fire the corrupters of the Truth, and the deſpiſers of his Father and of his Coming*; which, on the ſame account is mentioned by *Tertullian* in terms not much unlike, *viz.* That [b] *he ſhall come in brightneſs to receive the Saints into the Fruit of eternal Life, and to adjudge the Prophane to everlaſting Fire*; in which two Creeds, the Actions of the Judge being ſo emphatically enumerated, after the confutation and recital of the Hereſy of the *Marcionites*, that he is not only the Saviour of the Godly, but alſo the Condemner and Puniſher

[a] Venturus ſalvator, eorum qui ſalvantur, & judex eorum qui judicantur, & mittens in ignem æternum transfiguratores veritatis, & contemptores Patris ſui & adventûs ejus. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 4. p. 172.

[b] Venturum cum claritate ad ſumendos ſanctos in vitæ æternæ, —fructum, & ad prophanos judicandos igni perpetuo. *De Præſcript. adverſ. Hæret.* p. 73.

of the Wicked, it is not unreaſonable to conclude, that the Perſon of the *Judge* was inſerted in the Creed againſt the ſaid Hereticks; by which, in contradiction to them, it is declared, That God is not only good, but alſo juſt; that as he will render a reward of Happineſs and Bliſs unto the Righteous, ſo he will alſo [a] *come from Heaven in flaming Fire, to take Vengeance on them, who know not God, nor obey his Goſpel.*

[a] 1 Theſſ. i. 7, 8.

But, as there is remarkable in this Article the Perſon ſpoken of, *viz.* the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, he ſhall come; ſo there is alſo obſervable, that which is predicated concerning him, which is, that he ſhall *judge both the Quick and the Dead*; by which is ſignified, that he ſhall at the laſt Day, examine into all Mens Carriage and Behaviour, and render them a juſt Reward ſuitable to their Deeds; that unto the Holy he ſhall give Life everlaſting, but on the Wicked he ſhall pour his Wrath and Vengeance, every one receiving according to his Actions in this Life, as they were good or evil; which ſuppoſeth that Mankind, the ſubject of this Judgment, was in this Life a voluntary and ſpontaneous Creature, not forced by any ſupe-

ſuperiour Agent, but freely determining himſelf to all his Actions and Operations: For Judgment implieth a Freedom and Liberty in the Perſon judged, as *Juſtin Martyr* writes, That although the *Chriſtians* believed that the holy Prophets foretold future Events, yet they did *not* [a] *thereby eſtabliſh a fatal neceſſity, or a forcible predetermination to future Actions, but altogether diſowned and rejected it; it being contrary to that fundamental Truth taught them by the Prophets, that there ſhould be Puniſhments and Rewards rendered to every Man according to the Merits of his Works*; where he evidently declares, that in the Opinion of that Age, a righteous Judgment, as our Lord's will be, did neceſſarily imply a liberty and freedom of every Action that ſhould be judged: For, as the ſaid Father continues farther to write in the ſame place, [b] *If it be determined by Fate, that this Man ſhall be good, and the other wicked, then neither is the one to be*

[a] Ὅπως ἢ μή τινες ὑπὸ τῆ προλελεγμένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, δοξάσωσι καθ' εἱμαρμένης ἀνάγκω φάσκειν ἡμᾶς τὰ γινόμενα γνέσθαι, —— τοῦτο διαλύομεν. Τὰς τιμωρείας καὶ τὰς κολάσεις καὶ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἀμοιβὰς, κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν πράξεων ἑκάστω ἀποδίδοσθαι διὰ τῶν προφητῶν μαθόντες, καὶ ἀληθὲς ὑπερφαινόμεθα. *Apolog.* 2. p. 80.

[b] Εἰ γὰρ εἱμαρμένη τόνδε τινα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ τόνδε φαῦλον, οὔθ' ὅτῳ ἀποδεκτὸς, οὐδὲ ὅτε ψευδὴς, μεμπτέος, *Ibid.* p. 80.

commended, nor the other to be blamed: [a] *But,* ſaith he, *God hath not created Man as Trees and Four-footed Beaſts, who do nothing by choice and diſcretion; neither would Man deſerve a Reward or Praiſe, if he were made good, and did not of himſelf chooſe the good; neither if he were wicked, could he be juſtly puniſhed, except he voluntarily made himſelf ſo.*

[a] Οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα οἷον δένδρα καὶ τετράποδα, μηδὲν δυνάμενα πρᾶξαι ἑτέρως πράττειν, ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ἄξιος ἀμοιβῆς ἢ ἐπαίνου, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑλόμενος τὸ ἀγαθὸν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο φύσει ὤν, οὐδ' εἰ κακὸς ὑπῆρχε, δικαίως κολάσεως ἐτύγχανεν, οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοιοῦτος ὤν. *Ibid.* p. 81.

And as the word *Judging* ſuppoſeth the liberty of the Perſon judged, ſo it alſo implies a Rule by which the Judgment is to be made, which the *Scripture* affirms, is to be according to every Man's Deeds, that [b] *they who have done wickedly, ſhall be adjudged unto everlaſting Puniſhment, but the Righteous unto Life eternal:* So that when this Article is repeated, it is thereby declared, That Man being a free and voluntary Agent, acting without conſtraint or force, ſhall at the general Judgment-day receive a Sentence from *Jeſus Chriſt*, either of Bliſs or Woe, ſuitable to the Works which he did here on Earth, whether of Piety or Wickedneſs, Obedience

[b] Matth. xxv. 46.

dience or Diſobedience. But now both theſe neceſſary Truths, the liberty of Man, and his being judged according to his Works, were denied by the *Valentinians*, *Baſilidians*, and others, compriſed under the general Name of *Gnoſticks*; as I ſhall in the next place endeavour to ſhew, beginning firſt with the *Valentinians*, who were the chiefeſt Sect amongſt them; whoſe Syſtem concerning the nature and ſtate of Man is as follows. [a] *They maintained that there were three kinds of Men, Spiritual, Earthly, and Animal, whom they exemplified in* Cain, Abel, *and* Seth; *of which, the earthly ſort would be neceſſarily reduced to Corruption; the Animal ſhould aſcend to a place of Reſt if it did well, but ſhould be reduced to the ſame Fate with the earthly, if it did ill; and the Spiritual ſhould certainly be ſaved:* [b] *Thoſe who were earthly or material, though they lived never ſo good Lives, yet ſhould neceſſarily periſh, becauſe they were not capable to receive any Breath*

[a] Ἀνθρώπων ϑ τελία χϒὴ ὑφ᾽ἕταν϶, πνευμαλικὸν, χοϊκὸν, ψυχικὸν, καθὼς ἐχρύσιλο Καὶν, Ἄβελ, Σήθ, — τὸ μ᾽ χοϊκὸν εἰς φθορὰν χωρεῖν, τὸ ψυχικὸν, ἐὰν τὰ βελλίονα ἕλη϶, ἐν τῷ τ᾽ μεσότηλ@ τόπῳ ἀναπαύεσϑ, ἐὰν ϑ τὰ χείρω, χωρήσειν χ᾽ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὰ ὅμοια, τὰ ϑ πνευματικὰ, — ψυχῶν αὐτῶν, — ἐν μεσότηλι — ἀναπαυσομένων. *Iren. lib.* I. *c.* 1. p. 24. §. 14.

[b] Τὸ μ᾽ ὑλικὸν, κατ᾽ ἀνάγκλν ἀπόλλυσϑαι λέγουσιν, ἅτε μεδεμίαν ἐπιδείξασϑ᾽ πνοὴν ἀφθαρσίας δυναμένην. *Ibid.* p. 20.

of Incorruptibility; that is, they were not capable to receive any of the ſpiritual Seed of *Achamoth*, which they affirmed to be the alone cauſe of Salvation, whereof I have already ſpoken under the Article of *Maker of Heaven and Earth*, unto which I refer the Reader. [a] *The Animal, who were the middle ſort between the earthly and the ſpiritual, ſhould have their Portion according to their Inclinations and Actions; if they did ill, they ſhould have the ſame condemnation with the material; but if they did well,* [b] *their Souls ſhould be hereafter received into the middle place,* as they called it, which they placed between the imaginary Seventh Heaven and their *Plenitude, and there remain in reſt and quiet; from whence they ſhould never paſs into the* Plenitude, *becauſe no animal Being can be admitted there.* [c] *This animal ſort of Men, they affirmed to be the Orthodox Chriſtians; for whom, Acts of Piety*

[a] Τὸ ἢ ψυχικὸν, —— ἅτε μέσον ὂν ἔ τε πνευματικῦ ἔ ὑλικῦ οἰκεῖσε χωρεῖν ὅπῃ ἂν κ τ προῤῥοπὴν ποιήσηται. *Id. Ib.* p. 20.

[b] Τὰς ἢ τ δικαίων ψυχὰς ἀναπαύσεσθ κ αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ τ μεσότητος τόπῳ, μηδὲν γὰ ψυχικὸν ἐντὸς πληρώματος χωρεῖν. *Id. Ibid.* p. 22.

[c] Ἡμᾶς ψυχικὰς ὀνομάζουτι —— ἔ ἀναίσκαιαν ἡμῖν τ ἐσκρότειαν κ ἀγαθὴν πρᾶξιν, ἵνα δι αὐτῆς ἐλθωμὲν εἰς τ τ μεσότητος τόπον. *Id. Ibid.* p. 22.

ty

ty and Virtue were abſolutely neceſſary, that by them they might arrive unto the middle place, or the Haven of their Joy and Happineſs: [a] *Which animal Kind was again thus ſubdivided by them; ſome they ſaid were evil, and others good by Nature; of which the one remained good, being capable to receive the ſpiritual Seed, and the other continued evil, being incapable ſo to do:* [b] *The Nature of Nature,* as *Tertullian* expreſſeth it, *being eſteemed by them to be immutable and irreformable.*

[a] Καὶ αὐτὰς μὲν τὰς ψυχικὰς πάλιν διπλασιάζοντες λέγουσιν, ἃς μὲν φύσει ἀγαθὰς, ἃς δὲ φύσει πονηρὰς, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς ταύτας εἶναι, τὰς δεκτικὰς τοῦ πνεύματος γινομένας, τὰς δὲ φύσει πονηρὰς μηδέποτε ἂν ἐπιδέξασθαι ἐκεῖνο τὸ πνεῦμα. *Id. Ib.* p. 24.

[b] Immutabilem enim & inreformabilem naturæ naturam pronunciaverunt. *Adverſ. Valentin. lib.* p. 304.

[c] *The ſpiritual kind of Men, were they themſelves who had received the ſpiritual Seed from* Achamoth, *by which alone they affirmed, they ſhould be ſaved, and not by their good Works and Actions;* [d] *upon which account they exceeded in Pride and Arrogance,*

[c] Αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ διὰ πράξεως ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φύσει πνευματικοὺς εἶναι πάντη τε καὶ πάντως σωθήσεσθαι δογματίζουσιν. *Iren. lib.* 1. *c.* 1. p. 20.

[d] Ἕως οὗ ὑπερυψωθῶσι τελείως ἀπαλλαγέντες καὶ πνεύματα ἐκλογῆς. *Id. Ibid.* p. 22.

rogance, calling themſelves perfect, and the Seeds of Election; aſſerting, that they ſhould be ſaved by virtue of their ſpiritual Nature alone: On which account, [a] *they eſteemed good Works unneceſſary for them*, maintaining, that neither good Actions could profit them, nor evil Actions injure them; that [b] *as the material Nature, though never ſo good in its Actions, could not be ſaved, ſo their ſpiritual Nature, though defiled with never ſo many Enormities, ſhould never ſee Corruption; for as a piece of Gold, which is buried in the Dirt and Mire, loſes not its Beauty, but retains its Nature that cannot be injured thereby, ſo in the like manner they affirmed, that they could not be harmed by any impious Practices whatſoever, or loſe their ſpiritual Seed thereby; from whence the moſt perfect amongſt them fearleſſy perpetrated thoſe Sins of*

[a] Nec operationes neceſſarias ſibi exiſtimant. *Tertul. adverſ. Valentin.* p. 305.

[b] Ὡς γὰρ τὸ χοϊκὸν ἀδυνάτον σωτηρίας μεταλαβεῖν, —— ὅτως πάλιν τὸ πνευματικὸν θέλειν οἱ αὐτοὶ εἶναι ἀδυνάτον φθορᾶν καταδέξασθαι, κἂν ὁποίαις συγκαταγένωνται πράξεσιν· οὐ γὰρ τρόπον χρυσὸς ἐν βορβόρῳ καταπεσὼν ἂν ἀπόλλυσι τὸν καλλονὴν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν διαφυλάττει, οὕτω βορβόρου μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαι δυναμένου τὸν χρυσὸν, ὅτω οὐδὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσι, κἂν ἐν ὁποίαις ὑλικαῖς πράξεσι καταγένωνται, μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἀποβαλέσθαι, μὴ ἔχειν ἀπόλλειν τὴν πνευματικὴν ὑπόστασιν· διὸ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀπερημάτα πάντα ἀδεῶς οἱ τελειότατοι πράττειν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἂν αἱ γραφαὶ διδάσκουσιν, τὸν ποιοῦντας αὐτὰ βασιλείαν Θεοῦ μὴ κληρονομήσειν· καὶ γὰρ εἰδωλόθυτα διαφόρως ἐσθίουσι, μὴ ἔχ μολύνεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡγούμενοι, &c. *Iren. adverſ. Hæreſ. lib.* I. *c.* I. p. 20. §. 11, 12.

of which the Scriptures teſtify, that they which do them ſhall never enter into the Kingdom of God, eating indifferently things offered to Idols, not holding themſelves to be defiled thereby, committing without any ſcruple or horrour all manner of moſt execrable Impieties, Inceſts and Villanies, moſt impudently avouching, That [a] *they were not ſaved by good Works, but by their ſpiritual Seed; which ſpiritual Seed being all perfected, their Mother* Achamoth *ſhall leave the middle place wherein ſhe hath hitherto lived,* between the Seventh Heaven and the *Plenitude,* wherein the *Æons* dwell, *and enter into the Plenitude itſelf, and be joined or copulated with the Saviour, who was made by all the* Æons; *after which the ſpiritual ſhall in an incomprehenſible and inviſible manner, enter within the Plenitude alſo, to be given for Spouſes to the Angels that are about the Saviour; and thoſe of the animal who did well, ſhall go into the middle Space;*

[a] Οὐ γὰρ τροφὴς εἰς πλήρωμα εἰσάγει, ἀλλὰ τὸ σπέρμα, — ὅταν οὖν πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα τελειωθῇ, τὴν μὲν Ἀχαμὼθ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν μεταβῆναι ἐκ τοῦ μεσότητος τόπου λέγουσι, καὶ αὐτὸς πληρώματος εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ ἁπλαβεῖν τὸν νυμφίον αὐτῆς τὸν Σωτῆρα, τὸν ὑπὸ πάντων γενόμενα, — τοὺς δὲ πνευματικοὺς, — ἀκρατήτως καὶ ἀοράτως αὐτοὺς πληρώματος εἰσελθόντας, νύμφας ἀποδοθήσεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν σωτῆρα ἀγγέλοις. — Τὰς δὲ δικαίων ψυχὰς, — ἐν τῷ τοῦ μεσότητος τόπῳ. — τούτων δὲ γνωρίμων ὄντως τὸ ἐμφωλεῦον τῷ κόσμῳ πῦρ ἐκλάμψαν καὶ ἐξαφθὲν, καὶ καταναλωσάμενον, πᾶσαν ὕλην συναναλωθήσεσθαι αὐτῇ καὶ εἰς τὸ μήκετ' εἶναι χωρήσειν διδάσκουσι. *Id. Ibid.* p. 22. §. 12, 13.

Space: Which things being once tranſacted, a Fire which now lies hid in the World, ſhall kindle and break out, and with its ſelf conſume all that is material, ſo that it ſhall be no more.

But as the *Valentinians*, ſo the *Baſilidians* alſo, who were another Sect of the *Gnoſticks*; embraced in a great meaſure the very ſame Opinions, introducing [a] *a precedent natural neceſſity to all Mens Actions, whether of Faith or Unbelief*, affirming, That [b] *Faith was a natural Gift*, or, *the prerogative of Nature*; to which they were forcibly predetermined or premoved, and ſhould be thereby ſaved, although their Lives were never ſo irregular and debauch'd: Upon which account, it is no wonder that in a conformity to theſe Principles, they openly indulged themſelves in all manner of Wickedneſs, [c] *eating without any fear or ſcruple things offered to Idols, and freely committing all other Acts of Villany and Uncleanneſs, eſteeming all Actions to be indif-*

[a] Πᾶσα ὖν ἡ τ πίστεως ⸫ ἀπιστίας ἰδιότης, — προηγεμόνι ἔχεται τ ⸫ ἐκ ⸫ τὰ πάντα δυναστᾶ φυσικῷ ἀνάγκῃ χυομένων. *Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib.* 2. p. 265.

[b] Φυσικῷ ἡγεμονίᾳ τ πίστιν οἱ ἀμφὶ τ Βασιλείδην, — φύσεως πλεονέκτημα. *Id. Ibid.*

[c] Contemnere autem & idolothyta & nihil arbitrari, ſed ſine aliquâ trepidatione uti eis. Habere autem & reliquarum operationum uſum indifferentem & univerſæ libidinis. *Iren. lib.* 1. *c.* 23. p. 78.

indifferent; that no good work could advantage, or bad work prejudice them, ſeeing they [a] *were by nature Believers and elected*, and [b] *had a liberty to be wicked by reaſon of their perfection; and although they did ſin, yet they ſhould neceſſarily be ſaved by virtue of their natural Election.*

[a] Τινὸς φύσ⸗ πιϛὸν κ᾽ ἐκλεκτὸν ὄνλος, ὡς Βασιλείδης νομίζει. *Clem. Alex. Strom. lib.* 5. p. 398.

[b] Βασιλειδιανὸν, ὡς ἤτοι ἐχόνλων ἐξσσίαν ἁμαρλεῖν διὰ τ̃ τελειότηλα, ἢ πάνλως γε ζωθησομθύων φύσ⸗, κἂν νυῦ ἁμάρλωσι διὰ τ̃ ἔμφυλον ἐκλογήν. *Idem Ibid. lib.* 3. p. 312.

Not much unlike whereto were the horrid Tenets of the *Carpocratians*, another ſubdiviſion of the *Gnoſticks*, who blaſphemouſly imagined [c] *only Faith and Charity to be neceſſary to Salvation; that all other things were indifferent; that according to the opinion of Men, ſome things were called good, and others bad, when in reality there is by Nature nothing evil:* From whence, together with the former Hereticks, they plunged themſelves in all Licentiouſneſs and Debauchery; it being related concerning them by [d] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, That after their natural inclinations to Luſt, were excited through the delicacy and abundance of Meats at their Suppers or Love Feaſts, they extinguiſhed

[c] Per fidem & charitatem ſalvari, reliqua verò indifferentia cùm ſint, ſecundùm opinionem hominum quædam quidem bona, quædam autem mala vocari, cùm nihil naturâ malum ſit. *Iren. lib.* 1. *c.* 24. p. 81.

[d] *Strom. l.* 3. p. 314.

tinguiſhed their Lights, and both Men and Women promiſcuouſly joined and perpetrated the moſt filthy and obſceneſt Villanies.

But, what need I mention any more of the particular Sects of theſe monſtrous *Gnoſticks*, ſeeing, though each Diviſion was ſignalized by ſome peculiar Notion, yet they generally combined in the forementioned Hereſies and Abominations, taking the firſt occaſion thereof from their grand Patriarch and Maſter *Simon Magus*, who [a] *affirmed, That God ſo created the Nature of Man, as that by its proper Motion and neceſſary Impulſe, it neither could, nor would do any thing elſe but ſin*; [b] *that thoſe who believed in him, and in his Whore* Selene, *might live as they liſt, ſeeing Salvation was to be obtained according to his Grace, and not according to his good Works.*

[a] Quippe quem adſerit talem hominum manibus ipſam ſuis creare naturam, quæ proprio quondam motu, & neceſſariæ cujuſdam voluntatis impulſu nihil aliud poſſit, nihil aliud velit, niſi peccare. *Vincent. Lirinenſ. Commonit. c.* 34. p 110.

[b] Hi qui in eum & in Selenen ejus ſpem habeant, & ut liberos agere quæ velint: ſecundùm enim ipſius gratiam ſalvari homines, ſed non ſecundùm operas juſtas. *Iren. lib.* 1. *c.* 20. p. 76.

So that the whole ſwarm of *Gnoſticks*, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, united in theſe two dangerous Tenets, That Man was fatally neceſſitated and predetermined to all his Actions whether good

good or bad, and that he ſhould not be judged at the laſt Day according to his Works, but be diſpoſed of according to his ſpiritual Seed, Election, or ſolitary Faith, which was naturally conferred upon him, and was not attainable by any endeavour or induſtry of his own. Now, what more monſtrous and abominable can be expreſſed or imagined? By the firſt of theſe Opinions, God is made the Author of Sin, repreſented as an unkind, cruel, and an unjuſt Being, puniſhing and tormenting his Creatures for that Nature which he irreſiſtibly forced on them; the Nerves and Sinews of all human Induſtry and Diligence are cut and broken, the nature of Rewards and Puniſhments is entirely taken away; and many other Blaſphemies are the natural conſequences of ſo wild an Opinion. By the ſecond, the neceſſity of an holy Life is taken away, Licentiouſneſs and Impiety are introduced, all manner of Wickedneſs is patronized and encouraged.

Wherefore, in contradiction to theſe Notions, that all true Chriſtians might be confirmed and ſettled in contrary Principles thereunto, the Fathers of the Primitive Church inſerted in the Rule of Faith, That Chriſt *ſhall come to judge*

judge both the Quick and the Dead; thereby declaring the Liberty of Man in all his Actions, and that the final diſpoſal of every Man ſhall be according to the Works which he hath done in the Fleſh.

Now that a Declaration of the Freedom of Mens Actions was deſigned hereby, will be moſt evident from this conſideration, *viz.* that in ſome of the ancient Creeds the word Αὐτεξούσιον, or, that *Man hath a Power over himſelf*, was part of this Article; as in a Creed of *Origen*'s; one of the Fundamental Truths aſſented to is, That [a] *we being* αὐτεξούσιοι, or, *having the command over our ſelves, ſhall be puniſhed for what we do ill, and be rewarded for what we do well:* And in another of his, tranſlated by *Ruffinus*, it is declared to be the Eccleſiaſtical Doctrine received from the Apoſtles, That [b] *every Soul is rational, of a Free-will and Determination; from whence it follows, that we are not ſubject to Neceſſity, and compelled againſt*

[a] Καὶ ὅτι αὐτεξούσιοι ὄντες κολαζόμεθα ἢ ἐφ' οἷς ἁμαρτάνομεν, τιμώμεθα ἢ ἐφ' οἷς οὐ πράττομεν. *Com. in Johan. Tom.* 32. p. 397. *Vol.* 2.

[b] Animam eſſe rationabilem, liberi arbitrii & voluntatis, — unde & conſequens eſt intelligere non neceſſitati eſſe ſubjectos, ut omni modo etiamſi nolimus, vel bona vel mala agere cogamur. *In lib.* περὶ ἀρχῶν *inter Oper. Hieron. Tom.* 9. p. 156.

gainſt our Will do either good or evil: And in his *Dialogues*, where *Eutropius*, the Moderator of the Diſpute between an orthodox Chriſtian and his ſeveral heretical Opponents, *Gnoſticks*, and others, ſums up the Chriſtian Faith; he repeats this as one Article thereof, [a] That God *ſhall judge all men juſtly according to the Freedom of their Wills*, or, *the Power that they have over themſelves*. In all which Creeds, the inſerting of the word Αὐτεξούσιον in this Article, or that *Man hath a command over himſelf*, doth moſt clearly convince us, that the forementioned Hereſy of the *Gnoſticks*, was deſignedly levelled at, and condemned thereby.

[a] Ὃς κὴ διὰ τῆ αὐτεξουσίᾳ δικαίως ἅπαντας εἰς κρίσιν ἄξειν ἀποδείκνυ. *Dial.* 5. p. 160.

And, even in thoſe other Creeds wherein that word was not expreſſed, the ſame ſenſe was always ſuppoſed and couched under the word *Judge*; for the Fathers apprehended it an impoſſible thing, that there ſhould be a true Judgment where a Man was irreſiſtibly neceſſitated to all his Actions: For, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* writes againſt the *Baſilidians*, [b] *If Faith be the prerogative of Nature, then there can be no*

[b] Ἡ πίστις, εἰ φύσεως πλεονέκτημα, οὐδὲ ἀμοιβῆς δικαίας τεύξεται ἀναίτιον ἄν, ὁ μὴ πιστεύσας· κὴ οὐκ αἰτίον ὁ πιστεύσας· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ τῆ πίστεως κὴ ἀπιστίας ἰδιότης κὴ διαθορότης, ὅτ' ἐπαίνῳ ὅτε μῶ ψόγῳ ὑποπέσοι ἂν, ὀρθῶς λογιζομένοις, προηρημένῳ ἔχοντα τ' οὐ ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ πάντα δωρεᾷ φυσικῷ ἀναίτιῳ χαριζομένῳ. *Strom. lib.* 2. p. 265.

juſt retribution, neither to him that believeth not, becauſe it is not his fault, neither to him that believeth, becauſe he is not the cauſe thereof; and the property and difference of Faith and Unbelief being under a precedent natural neceſſity from the Almighty, cannot be either commended or blamed by all due conſiderers: Wherefore they did with good reaſon apprehend, that a profeſſion of our Saviour's coming *to judge the World*, was a ſufficient declaration of the Freedom of Man, who is to be the Perſon judged; as in the forementioned Paſſage of [a] *Juſtin Martyr* the ſaid Father writes, That the Chriſtians *did not believe a Fatal Neceſſity, or a forcible Predetermination to their future Actions, but altogether diſowned and rejected it, becauſe it was contrary to that fundamental Truth taught them by the Prophets, that there ſhould be Puniſhments and Rewards rendered to every Man according to the Merits of his Works:* Where he concludes, that the very notion of Judgment did neceſſarily ſuppoſe the freedom and liberty of thoſe Actions for which the Perſon ſhall be judged. Upon which account, St. *Auſtin*, the great Aſſertor of the Grace of God, and of the neceſſity of its concurrence in the Converſion

[a] *Apolog.* 2. p. 80.

of

of a Sinner, doth from this Argument contend for the liberty of Man, as well as from others he pleads for the efficacy of God's Grace: An inſtance whereof is in a Letter of his to one *Valentinus*, the Head probably of a Monaſtery, wherein ſome over-zealous and imprudent oppoſers of *Pelagius*, had advanced the Power of divine Grace, to that height, as to take away all Freedom from Man, which he condemns as dangerous and erroneous; and directs to the middle way as the ſafeſt, wherein the Grace of God is ſo aſſerted, as that the liberty of Man is not denied; and the liberty of Man is ſo maintained, as that the Grace of God is not diminiſhed: *There are come*, ſaith he, *unto us from from your Congregation, two young Men*, Creſconius *and* Felix, *who report, that your Monaſtery is divided; that* [a] *ſome ſo preach up Grace, as to deny Man to*

[a] Quidam in vobis ſic gratiam prædicent, ut negent hominis eſſe liberum arbitrium; & quod eſt gravius dicunt, quòd in die judicii non ſit vel redditurus Deus unicuique ſecundùm opera ejus; etiam hoc tamen indicaverunt, quod plures veſtrûm non ita ſentiant, ſed liberum arbitrium adjuvari fateantûr per Dei gratiam; ut recta faciamus atque ſapiamus, ut cùm venerit Dominus reddere unicuique ſecundùm opera ejus inveniat opera noſtra bona, quæ præparavit Deus in illis ambulemus. Hoc qui ſentiunt benè ſentiunt, — primo enim, — Chriſtus non venit ut judicaret mundum, ſed ut ſalvaretur mundus per ipſum; poſtea verò judicabit Deus mundum quando venturus eſt, ſicut tota Eccleſia in Symbolo confitetur, judicare vivos & mortuos: ſi igitur non eſt Dei gratia quomodo ſalvat mundum? Et ſi non eſt liberum arbitrium, quomodo judicat mundum? *Tom.* 2. *Epiſt.* 46. p. 179.

to have a Freewill; and which is worſe, that at the Day of Judgment, God will not render to every Man according to his Works; but that others diſagreeing from them, confeſs, that our Free-will is helped by the Grace of God, to think and do thoſe things which are right, that when the Lord ſhall come to render unto every Man according to his Works, he may find our Works good which God hath prepared, that we may walk in them; thoſe who think ſo, think well: Wherefore, as the Apoſtle did the Corinthians, *ſo I beſeech you, Brethren, by the Name of the Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *that ye all ſay the ſame thing, and that there be not Schiſms amongſt you, for our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *came not firſt to judge the World, but that the World through him might be ſaved; but hereafter he ſhall judge the World, when he ſhall come, as the whole Church profeſſes in the Creed, to judge both the Quick and the Dead. If therefore, there be not God's Grace, how can he ſave the World? And, if there be not Free-will, how can he judge the World?* Where he appeals, as it were to the common ſenſe of all Mankind, that there could not be a proper and righteous Judgment, as to be ſure our Lord's will be,

be, except the Party judged were free and voluntary in all his Actions. From all which, it doth evidently enough appear, that by this Article, the compilers of the Creed deſigned to obviate that part of the Hereſy of the *Gnoſticks*, which introduced a fatal Neceſſity, and denied the Liberty of Man.

But, as this part of the *Gnoſticks* Hereſy which regarded the Liberty of Man, ſo alſo that other part which denied the future Judgment to be according to Mens Works, was warded againſt by this Article, that *Chriſt* ſhall *come to judge both the Quick and the Dead.* Theſe Hereticks, as it hath been already related, affirmed, That Men ſhould not be tried and rewarded at the laſt Day, according to their Works and Actions; that it was no odds whether they lived virtuouſly or wickedly, but that according to their ſpiritual Seed, Election, Predetermination, and the like, they ſhould be either condemned or abſolved: Wherefore, as an Antidote to prevent the infection of ſo pernicious a Tenet, it was inſerted in the Creed, That *Chriſt* ſhall come to *judge* the World, that is, to render unto all Men Rewards ſuitable to their Deeds; which is moſt undeniably evident from that, whilſt the Hereſy of the *Gnoſticks* raged and infeſted

Church; the Rulers thereof, to prevent any equivocal Evaſions, expreſſed this Article with ſuch a *Periphraſis* and Circumlocution, as the *Gnoſticks* could never aſſent to without a direct and formal renunciation of their horrid Notions, and by which the whole World might apparently ſee, that their Hereſy was intentionally aimed at thereby; Examples of which are in the two Creeds of *Irenæus*, the great Scourge and Confuter of thoſe Hereticks. In the firſt whereof, which is immediately ſubjoined to his large account of that Hereſy, as a Preſervative there-againſt, this Article is thus expreſſed, That he ſhall come from Heaven, [a] *to render a righteous Judgment unto all; that he ſhall ſend into everlaſting Fire evil Spirits, and the Angels which are fallen and apoſtatized, and all impious, unrighteous, ungodly and blaſphemous Men; but that on the righteous, holy, and obedient obſervers of his Commandments, he ſhall confer Life, Immortality and everlaſting Glory:* And in his ſecond, That he

[a] Κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι ποιήσῃ· τὰ μὲν πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρείας, καὶ ἀγγέλους τοὺς παραβεβηκότας καὶ ἐν ἀποστασίᾳ γενομένους, καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους καὶ βλασφήμους τοὺς ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψῃ· τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις καὶ ὁσίοις καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τετηρηκόσι, καὶ ἐνδιατρίψασι τῇ ἀγάπῃ αὐτοῦ, τοῖς μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ μετὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν, ζωὴν χαρισάμενος, ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσηται, καὶ δόξαν αἰώνιον παρέχοιτο. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 2. p. 36.

[a] *he ſhall come in Glory to be the Saviour of thoſe who are ſaved, and the Judge of thoſe who are judged, ſending into everlaſting Fire the corrupters of his Truth, and the deſpiſers of his Father and his Coming.* Not much unlike to which, we have another inſtance in a Creed of *Tertullian*'s, wherein this Article is thus worded, That Chriſt [b] *ſhall come in ſplendour to receive the Saints into the fruit of eternal Life, and the heavenly Promiſes, and to adjudge the prophane to everlaſting Fire.* But afterwards, when the Hereſy of the *Gnoſticks* decreaſed, and their Numbers leſſened, or were altogether extinct, it is probable, that the Governours of the Church not willing to enlarge their ſhort Confeſſion of Faith beyond what was abſolutely neceſſary, omitted this Circumlocution, and contented themſelves with a bare Declaration, That *Chriſt* ſhall come *to judge* the World, ſeeing unto all ſenſible and unprejudiced Perſons, that is a ſufficient and manifeſt Acknowledgment, that e-

[a] In gloria venturus ſalvator eorum qui ſalvantur, & judex eorum qui judicantur, & mittens in ignem æternum transfiguratores veritatis, & contemptores Patris ſui, & adventûs ejus. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 4. p. 172.

[b] Venturum cum claritate ad ſumendos ſanctos in vitæ æternæ & promiſſorum cœleſtium fructum, & ad profanos judicandos igni perpetuo. *De Præſcript. adverſ. Hær.* p. 73.

very Man ſhall at that Day be ſuitably rewarded according to his Actions here.

To conclude therefore with this Article; from what hath been written, it doth appear, that by the repetition thereof, it was deſigned that we ſhould yield our aſſent to this Propoſition, That *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Son of the true and only God, ſhall at the end of the World deſcend from Heaven, to render a righteous Judgment unto all Mankind, either of Abſolution or Condemnation, according to their Works and Actions, which in this Life they freely and voluntarily acted and committed.

CHAP. VI.

I believe in the Holy Ghoſt. *Why the word* Believe *is again repeated. This Article was always part of the Creed. Why ſo little is ſaid of the* Holy Ghoſt, *when ſo much is ſaid of the* Father, *and of the* Son. *His Divinity intended by the Creed's requiring us to believe* in *him*; *whereas, we are only ſimply required to believe the enſuing Articles*; *as in particular* the Holy Catholich Church, *which is next of all conſidered. In the* Greek, *wherein they are followed by the Modern* French *and* Dutch, *the word* Believe *is again repeated before the Article of the* Church; *which, for different Ends, was variouſly placed in the Primitive Creeds. Its uſual Order after the Holy Ghoſt. This Article firſt mentioned by* Tertullian. *The moſt ancient Creeds read only* the Holy Church. *The term* Catholick *being added by the* Greeks *to be an explication or determination thereof. By the* Church, *is to be*

be underſtood the univerſal One, which is affirmed to be One, Holy *and* Catholick. *That the* Unity of the Church *was here intended, appears from that the* Greek *Creeds read in* one *Holy Catholick Church. The* Church Univerſal *is to be conſidered as* One, *either as to Faith or Charity; in which ſenſe it was, for ſeveral reaſons which are mentioned, inſerted in the Creed in oppoſition to Hereticks and Schiſmaticks. The* Church *termed* Holy *from the Purity and Holineſs of her Doctrine, which is aſſented to thereby. The Affection* Catholick, *which ſignifies Univerſal, not always in the Creed; firſt introduced by the* Greeks, *to prevent too narrow and limited Conceptions of the Church. A brief repetition of what is aſſented to, when we repeat this Article,* the Holy Catholick Church. *Whereunto is added as an Appendix,* the Communion of Saints; *which was introduced about St.* Auſtin's *time, in oppoſition to the* Donatiſts. *By* Saints, *are to be underſtood particular Churches and the Members thereof. For what reaſon they were called* Saints.

By

By Communion, *is ſignified the mutual Society and Fellowſhip of particular Churches and their Members. Various Methods uſed by the Ancients to maintain their Communion. The* Donatiſts *refuſed Communion with other Churches; and for that Schiſm, were juſtly condemned and rejected by them. In oppoſition unto whom, this Article may be conſidered either as a Mark to know a true particular Church by, that ſhe is one that is acknowledged ſo to be by other Churches, or rather as the Quality, Property and Practice of ſuch an one to hold Communion with other particular Churches: In which ſenſe it is alſo added as an Explanation of the Holy Catholick Church, and was intended to declare, that there ought to be a due Communion and Fellowſhip between the particular Churches and Members of the Catholick and Univerſal One.*

THE

THE Faith of an orthodox Chriſtian, reſpecting the *Father* and the *Son*, having been already declared, That [a] *our Belief*, as *Auguſtin* writes, *might be perfected concerning God; the Creed proceeds to add, that we muſt alſo believe in the Holy Ghoſt*: Where the word *Believe* is again repeated to relieve our Memories, after that ſo many Particulars concerning the Son had intervened.

[a] Jungitur confeſſioni noſtræ ad perficiendam fidem, quæ nobis de Deo eſt, Spiritus Sanctus. *Tom.* 3. *de Fid. & Symbol.* p. 190.

This Article hath been always part of the Creed, and is coeval with Chriſtianity and the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, as appears from the very Form of Baptiſm, the ground and foundation of the Creed, which is not only to be ſolemnized in the *Name of the Father, and of the Son*, but alſo *of the Holy Ghoſt*, where the *Holy Ghoſt* is joined with the *Father* and the *Son*: From whence [b] *Didymus* thus argues, *Who will not from hence conclude the equality of the ſacred Trinity, ſeeing there*

[b] Quis non ex ipſâ cogetur veritate ſuſcipere indifferentiam ſanctæ Trinitatis, dum una ſit fides in Patre & Filio, & Spiritu Sancto, & lavacrum detur atque firmetur in nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti; non arbitror quemquam tam vecordem atque inſanum futurum ut perfectum Baptiſma putet, quod datur in nomine Patris & Filii, ſine aſſumptione Spiritûs Sancti. *De Spiritu Sancto, lib.* 2. *inter Oper. Hieron. Tom.* 6. p. 224.

is

is but one Faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt? And Baptiſm is given in the Names of all three. I do not think that any one will be ſo fooliſh or mad, as to imagine that Baptiſm to be perfect, which is given in the Name of the Father and of the Son, without the addition of the Holy Ghoſt. Conſonant unto which, is that obſervation of St. *Jerom*, That thoſe Perſons mentioned in the *Nineteenth* of the [a] *Acts, who were baptized with* John's *Baptiſm, and believed in God the Father, and* Chriſt Jeſus, *becauſe they knew not the Holy Ghoſt, were again baptized, yea then received the true Baptiſm; for, without the Holy Ghoſt, the Myſtery of the Trinity is imperfect.*

[a] In Actibus Apoſtolorum qui Joannis baptiſmate fuerint baptizati, & credebant in Deum Patrem & Chriſtum, quia Spiritum Sanctum neſciebant, iterum baptizantur, imò tunc verum accipiunt Baptiſma; abſque enim Spiritu Sancto imperfectum eſt myſterium Trinitatis. *Tom.* 3. *ad Hedib. Epiſt.* 150. *Quæſt.* 9. p. 420.

It may perhaps ſeem ſtrange to ſome, that when there is ſo much declared in the Creed relating to the Father and the Son, ſo little ſhould be ſaid concerning the Holy Ghoſt. But, for this there is a ſufficient and manifeſt reaſon, which is, That there was not ſo great a Controverſy in the Primitive Church concerning the Divinity and Perſon of the Holy

Holy Ghoſt; for, though the *Gnoſticks* and ſome others blaſphemed him, yet their Aſſaults were more furious and violent againſt the Father and the Son, which obliged the Church to uſe her greateſt care for the preſervation of that part, which was moſt expoſed and attack'd.

This Obſervation was made long ago againſt the *Macedonians*, or *Pneumatomachiſts*, the firſt Hereticks, who owning the Divinity of the Son, directly attacked that of the Holy Ghoſt alone; of whom *Epiphanius* writes, That they boaſted [a] *of their entire adherence to the* Nicene *Creed*, which ſaith the ſame with the Apoſtles Creed concerning the Holy Ghoſt, *affirming, that his Divinity was not therein aſſerted*; unto which the ſaid Father replies, That whatſoever they might imagine, *that Creed did condemn their Hereſy*; *for, although there was no great mention made of the*

[a] Κἂν τε γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν τινὲς θελήσειαν λέγειν, ὅτι μὴ τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἐκτεθεῖσαν ἐν Νικαίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν, δεῖξον μοι ἀπ' αὐτῆς, ὅτι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν τῇ θεότητι συναριθμεῖται· εὑρηθήσονται καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐλεγχόμενοι, ὑφ' γέγονε τότε μὲν πρόφασις ἡ ζήτησις, πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ὑποκείμενον ἐν καιρῷ ὁ καιρὸν, αἱ συνοδοὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ποιοῦνται, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἄρειος εἰς τὸν τῆς δυσφημίας ἀπελαύνετο, τότε ἕνεκα μὲν περιττῆς διαλογῆς ἀκριβεία τὸ λόγου γεγένηται, ὅρος δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ὁμολογίας, ὅτι ὅτε ἐν τούτῳ εὑρηθήσονται τὶ λέγοντες οἱ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα βλασφημοῦντες, — οὐθὺς γὰρ ἡ ἔκθεσις ὁμολογεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀρνεῖται, πιστεύομεν γὰρ εἰς ἕνα θεὸν παλέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸ δὲ πιστεύομεν, οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ ἡ πίστις εἰς τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἴρηται ἀλλ' εἰς Θεὸν ἡ πίστις, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἴρηται, ἀλλ' εἰς μίαν δοξολογίαν, &c. *Adverſ. Hæreſ. in Hær.* 74. *adverſ. Pneumatomach.* p. 384.

Holy

Holy Ghoſt therein, becauſe there was no Controverſy then about him; and that Synod principally inſiſted upon the Articles of Faith relating to the Deity of the Son, which at that time were impugned and denied by *Arius* and his Followers; yet nevertheleſs, *there was ſufficient ſaid of him to declare him to be God, in that as we are directed by that Creed, not only ſimply to believe the Father and the Son, but* in *the Father and* in *the Son, terminating our Faith upon them; ſo alſo, we are obliged in the like manner to believe* in *the Holy Ghoſt.*

Which Criticiſm and Diſtinction between *believing* and *believing in,* is not to be deſpiſed, ſeeing the Primitive Writers lay great ſtreſs thereon; and do from thence conclude and prove the Divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, and intimate to us, that the Framers of the Symbol did on this account omit to prefix the Prepoſition *in,* before the other Articles which immediately ſucceed, as it is obſerved by *Ruffinus,* That [a] *it is not ſaid in the Holy Church, nor in the Remiſſion of Sins,*

[a] Non dixit, *in* ſanctam Eccleſiam, nec *in* remiſſionem peccatorum, nec *in* carnis reſurrectionem; ſi enim addidiſſet *in* Præpoſitionem, una eademque vis fuiſſet cum ſuperioribus, nunc autem in illis quidem vocabulis, ubi de divinitate fides ordinatur, in Deum Patrem dicitur, & in Jeſum Chriſtum Filium ejus, & in Spiritum Sanctum; in cæteris verò, ubi non de Divinitate ſed de creaturis ac

ac myſteriis Sermo eſt, *in* Præpoſitio non additur; ut dicatur *in* ſanctam Eccleſiam, ſed ſanctam Eccleſiam credendam eſſe, non ut in Deum, ſed ut Eccleſiam Deo congregatam: & remiſſionem peccatorum credendam eſſe, non *in* remiſſionem peccatorum——Hâc itaque præpoſitionis ſyllabâ Creator à creaturis ſecernitur, & divina ſeparantur ab humanis. *Expoſ. in Symb. Apoſt.* §. 35. p. 575.

Sins, nor in the Reſurrection of the Body; for, if the Prepoſition in *had been added, it would have had the ſame force with what went before. But now in thoſe words, where our Faith in the Deity is declared, it is ſaid to be in God the Father, and in his Son* Jeſus Chriſt, *and in the Holy Ghoſt; but, where the Creed ſpeaks of Creatures and Myſteries, the Prepoſition* in *is not added; as we do not ſay* in *the holy Church, but that we believe the holy Church, not as* in *God, but as a Church congregated by God; and we do not ſay* in *the Forgiveneſs of Sins, nor* in *the Reſurrection of the Body, but* the *Forgiveneſs of Sins, and* the *Reſurrection of the Body: By this Prepoſition therefore, the Creator is diſtinguiſhed from the Creatures, and divine Things ſeparated from humane.* So that the not prefixing the Prepoſition *in* before *the holy Catholick Church*, and the other Articles which follow, directs us, according to the ſaid obſervation of *Ruffinus*, to believe them after another manner than

than the precedent Articles before whom that Syllable is prefixed; that on the former we are to believe as God, whilſt we are only ſimply to believe the latter as Myſteries revealed by God; or as the Author of a Sermon, who paſſeth under the Name of St. *Auſtin*, expreſſeth it, with particular relation to the Article of *the Holy Catholick Church:* Which I now come in the next place to conſider, That the Creed obligeth us [a] *to believe the Church, but not in the Church; for the Church is not God, but the Houſe of God.* By all which, it appears, that the Ancients obſerved a great difference in the manner of their believing the ſeveral Articles of the Creed, laying a great ſtreſs upon this little Prepoſition *in*; and which is yet farther obſervable, the *Greeks* contented not themſelves with the bare ſuppreſſion thereof before *the Holy Catholick Church*, but to make the Diſtinction more evident and remarkable, inſerted alſo another *I believe* between that and the precedent Article of *the Holy Ghoſt:* From whence it comes to paſs, that the Modern *Greek* Creeds thus run; wherein they are ex-

[a] Eccleſiam credere, non tamen in Eccleſiam credere debemus, quia Eccleſia non Deus eſt, ſed domus Dei eſt. *Tom.* 10. *Serm. de Temp.* 181. p. 535.

actly followed by the preſent [a] *French* and [b] *Nether Dutch*, Πιςεύω εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον, Πιςεύω τ' ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν καθολικήν. *I believe* in the Holy Ghoſt, *I believe* the Holy Catholick Church.

[a] Je croi au Saint Eſprit, je croi la Sainte Egliſe univerſelle.

[b] Ick geloove in den Heyligen Greſt, Ick geloove een Heyligen Algemeyne Chriſtelicke Kercke.

But, to inſiſt no longer on theſe Criticiſms, and to come to the Article of *the Holy Catholick Church*; there is this thing in the firſt place to be remarked concerning it, That the ancient Creeds vary in the Order and Place thereof. In ſeveral of them it is the very laſt Article of all; as in a Creed of *Cyprian*'s, wherein we profeſs to believe [c] *the Remiſſion of Sins, and Life everlaſting through the holy Church.* The reaſon whereof is alledged by one who falſly paſſeth under the Name of St. *Auſtin*, to be, [d] *becauſe if any one be found out of the Church, he is not to be reckoned in the number of Sons; for he ſhall not have God for his Father, who will not have the Church for his Mother*; or, as it may be gathered from St. *Cyprian*, the

[c] Remiſſionem peccatorum & vitam æternam per ſanctam Eccleſiam. *Epiſt.* 76. §. 6. p. 248.

[d] Hujus concluſio Sacramenti, per Sanctam Eccleſiam terminatur, quoniam ſi quis abſque eâ inventus fuerit, alienus erit à numero Filiorum, nec habebit Deum Patrem, qui Eccleſiam noluerit habere Matrem. *Tom.* 9. *Symb. ad Catech. lib.* 4. p. 1438.

the deſign thereof was, to ſignify, That [a] *Remiſſion of Sins and Life everlaſting, could not be obtained but in and through the Holy Catholick Church.*

[a] Nam cùm dicunt, credis remiſſionem peccatorum, & vitam æternam per ſanctam Eccleſiam? Mentiuntur in interrogatione, quando non habeant Eccleſiam, tum deinde voce ſuâ ipſi confitentur, remiſſionem peccatorum non dari, niſi per ſanctam Eccleſiam poſſe. *Epiſt.* 76. §. 6 p. 248.

But in the generality of Creeds, this Article poſſeſſeth the ſame place that it doth in ours, immediately following our Faith in the Holy Ghoſt; the reaſon whereof is thus given by *Tertullian*, in whom the clear mention of this Article is firſt found, [b] *That after the pledging of our Faith and Hope in the Trinity, the mention of the Church is neceſſarily added, becauſe where thoſe three, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghoſt are, there is the Church, which is the Body of them.* Not much different wherefrom, St. *Auſtin* writes, That [c] *the right Order of Faith required, that the Church ſhould be ſubjoined to the Trinity, as an Houſe to his Occupier, a Temple to its God, and a City to its Builder.*

[b] Cùm autem ſub tribus & teſtatio fidei, & ſponſio ſalutis pignorentur, neceſſario adjicitur Eccleſiæ mentio, quoniam ubi tres, id eſt Pater, & Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus, ibi Eccleſia quæ trium corpus eſt. *De Baptiſm.* p. 599.

[c] Rectus Confeſſionis Ordo poſcebat, ut Trinitati ſubjungeretur Eccleſia tanquam habitatori domus ſua, & Deo Templum ſuum, & conditori civitas ſua. *Tom.* 3. *Enchir. ad Laur.* p. 226.

But, beſides the different placing of this Article in the Primitive Creed, there is this to be remarked concerning the words thereof, that the more ancient Symbols had only *the Holy Church*, as is to be ſeen in [a] *Cyprian* and ſeveral others: The word *Catholick* being afterwards added by the *Greeks*, as I ſhall hereafter ſhew, by way of Explication or Determination; from whom it was received by the *Latins*, and by them inſerted in their Creed, wherein we now read *the Holy Catholick Church*. Into the meaning and intent whereof, I now proceed to enquire; in which, the ſenſe of the word *Church* is firſt to be conſidered, and the Affections thereof, which are in number three, *Unity*, *Sanctity*, and *Univerſality*. As for the *Church*, which we are obliged to believe, though it be capable of various Significations, yet the Affection of *Univerſality* being joined with it, makes it evident, that it muſt be here neceſſarily underſtood of the Viſible Catholick, Univerſal Church, which comprehends within its Bounds all Men and Women, who throughout the whole World make a viſible Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, and own the Doctrine delivered by our Saviour and his Apoſtles;

[a] Vitam æternam per ſanctam Eccleſiam. *Epiſt.* 76. §. 6. p. 248.

ſtles; who, though neceſſarily divided into many ſeparate Congregations and particular Churches, yet compoſe but that one general Church, which is here affirmed by the Creed to be *One*, *Holy* and *Catholick*.

Now that the *Unity* of the Church is herein contained, appears not only from that this Article is in the ſingular Number, and from that the Fathers put this conſtant Interpretation upon it; but alſo from that in ſome Creeds, to render it the more obvious and indiſputable, the word *One* is added thereto, as in the *Nicene*, or rather *Conſtantinopolitan* Creed, [a] *I believe* One *Holy Catholick and Apoſtolick Church:* And in the Expoſition thereof, by *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, he expreſſes it by [b] *the One and only Catholick and Apoſtolick Church.*

[a] Πιστεύω μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

[b] Μίαν καὶ μόνην καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. *Apud Theodorit. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 1. *c.* 4. p. 18.

Now, though in ſeveral reſpects the Univerſal Church may be ſaid to be *One*, yet, that I may not go beyond the bounds of my deſigned Task, I ſhall only take notice of what was principally intended by the inſerters of it in the Creed, which was, That the Church

is *One* as to her *Faith* and *Doctrine*; that though ſhe be enlarged through the Face of the whole Earth, yet all her Members univerſally aſſent to the ſame neceſſary Truths of the Goſpel, and that ſhe is *One* as to her *Love and Charity*; there being an harmonious Agreement and Union between particular Churches which complete and perfect the Univerſal One.

That the Unity of the Churches *Faith* was hereby deſigned, will more evidently appear, when I ſhall come to conſider the occaſion of its being placed in the Creed: For the preſent, I ſhall only cite a pregnant Paſſage in *Irenæus* very pertinent to this purpoſe, which is, that immediately after his repetition of the Creed, he writes, [a] *That the Church, although diſperſed through the whole World, yet, as if ſhe dwelt in one and the ſame Houſe, did diligently preſerve this Faith, believing it, as if ſhe had but one Soul, and one Heart, and uniformly preaching and teaching it, as if ſhe had but one Mouth; for,*

[a] Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη, ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει, ὡς ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις, ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν, καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει καὶ διδάσκει καὶ παραδίδωσιν, ὡς ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη· καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὲν τοῦ κόσμου διάλεκτοι ἀνόμοιαι, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τῆς παραδόσεως μία καὶ ἡ αὐτή, καὶ ὅτε αἱ ἐν Γερμανίαις ἱδρυμέναι ἐκκλησίαι ἄλλως πεπιστεύκασιν, —— ὅτε ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, ὅτε ἐν Κελτοῖς, ὅτε κατὰ τὰς ἀνατολὰς· —— ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος, —— ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ εἷς καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς, οὕτω καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τῆς ἀληθείας πανταχοῦ φαίνει, καὶ φωτίζει πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς βουλομένους εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν. *Lib.* I. *c.* 3. p. 36.

although

although there be different Dialects in the World, yet the force of Tradition is one and the ſame; for neither do the Churches in Germany, Spain, France, *the* Eaſt, Egypt, Libya, *or the middle of the World, believe otherwiſe; but as the Sun is one and the ſame in the whole World, ſo the preaching of the Truth ſhines every where, and enlightens all Men who are willing to come unto the knowledge thereof.*

But the *Unity* of the Church Univerſal, beſides the Uniformity of her Faith, included alſo the Love and Concord, Union and Communion, which was and ought to be between her particular Members and Churches, which is now partly contained in the following Clauſe of the *Communion of Saints*, and is partly to be conſidered under this Article, to render the Interpretation thereof complete and entire. In reference whereunto, it directs us to this obſervation, That although the Univerſal Catholick Church be compoſed of different and almoſt innumerable Members and Churches, yet that ſhe is but one Body; and thoſe particular Parts are, or ought to be united amongſt themſelves by Love and Charity, without Factions and

Schiſms, and ſo agree as to the execution of their Eccleſiaſtical Power and Government, that whatſoever is juſtly determined in one Church according to the common Laws received by them, is not thwarted and contradicted by another; and, if any ſchiſmatical and factious Spirits rent and divide one Church, they are not favoured or countenanced, but diſallowed and condemned by others; all Churches harmoniouſly concurring in this Bond of Love and Charity, diligently avoiding every thing that might break this kind of Unity of the Church Univerſal.

Now that which gave occaſion unto the Fathers to introduce the *Unity of the Church* thus expounded into the Rule of Faith, were the Hereſies and Schiſms wherewith they were peſtered and aſſaulted, deſigning to oblige hereby all orthodox Chriſtians at their Baptiſm, to declare, That they would firmly adhere to the one and undivided Church of *Chriſt*, which preſerved the Faith of the Goſpel pure from Hereſies, and the Union thereof free from Schiſms and Diviſions.

Now that the Unity of the Churches Faith, and an Adheſion thereunto, was for the forementioned Reaſon deſigned hereby,

hereby, appears from the frequent References which the Fathers in their Diſputes againſt Hereticks, make unto the Faith and Doctrine of the Church, and eſpecially of thoſe Parts of her who were planted and confirmed by the Apoſtles, challenging the Hereticks to be determined by their Arbitrement, and exhorting the Faithful to follow their Preſcriptions and Directions: Which Method is frequently uſed by *Tertullian* (in whoſe Works is the firſt mention of this Clauſe as an Article of the Creed,) as in his Book of *Preſcriptions againſt Hereticks*, where he ſeveral times refers his Readers to the Faith received in the Church, and admoniſhes them to [a] *reject as Lies, whatſoever Doctrines were contrary to the Truth of the Churches*; as alſo by *Irenæus*, who from time to time [b] *challenges the Hereticks to ſtand to that Tradition, which from the Apoſtles, by the ſucceſſion of Presbyters, was preſerved in the Church*; [c] *in which Church, God*

[a] Omnem doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam quæ ſapiat contra veritatem Eccleſiarum. *De Præſcrip. adverſ. Hæret.* p. 76.

[b] Eam traditionem, quæ eſt ab Apoſtolis, quæ per ſucceſſiones Presbyterorum in Eccleſiis cuſtoditur, provocamus eos. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 2. p. 170.

[c] In Eccleſiâ poſuit Deus, Apoſtolos, Prophetas, Doctores, & univerſam reliquam operationem Spiritûs, cujus non ſunt participes omnes qui non concurrunt ad Eccleſiam, ſed ſemetipſos fraudant à vitâ per ſententiam malam, & operationem peſſimam. Ubi enim Eccleſia ibi & Spiritus; & ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Eccleſia, & omnis gratia. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 40. p. 226.

placed

placed Apoſtles, Prophets, Doctors, and the reſt of the Spirit's Operation, whereof they are not Partakers who do not run unto the Church, but deprive themſelves of Life by their evil Faith and wicked Works; for, where the Church is, there is the Spirit; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church, and all Grace: So that by aſſenting to the *Unity of the Church* in this ſenſe, it was thereby intended to declare, That forſaking all Hereticks, and renouncing Communion either with them or their Hereſies, we will adhere and firmly ſtick to the Faith and Doctrine received in the Apoſtolical and Univerſal Church.

But, as the *Unity of the Church*, as including its Faith, was intended againſt Hereticks, the Corrupters thereof; ſo alſo, as comprehending its Love and Charity, it was deſigned againſt Schiſmaticks, who were the Subverters thereof, and the Introducers of all Diſunion, Confuſion and Diſorder; which will be manifeſt from this conſideration, That all the legal Acts of a particular Church were eſteemed and reckoned to be the Acts of the Univerſal One, and were not contradicted, but ratified and

and approved by other particular Churches; and if any did unjuſtly ſeparate from, or cauſe Diſorder and Confuſion in a particular Church, they were condemned as Dividers from, and Diſturbers of the whole Catholick Univerſal Church: A particular Church being part of the Univerſal, every Diſorder and Breach therein had a general and univerſal Influence; as the Pain and Anguiſh of one Member affects and diſturbs the whole Body, ſo the Diviſion of one particular Church was reputed to break the Unity of the Univerſal and Catholick one: From whence the Schiſm of *Novatian*, which at firſt reſpected only the Church of *Rome*, is frequently repreſented by *Cyprian*, who was his Cotemporary, to be a Rent and Separation from the Catholick Church; as when ſeveral of the *Roman* Confeſſors had engaged with him in that ſchiſmatical Conſpiration, he informs their legal Biſhop *Cornelius*, that he had written unto them an extraordinary Letter [a] *to return to their Mother, that is, to the Catholick Church*; in which Letter, he moſt ſenſibly bewails their grievous ſin in conſenting to the Election of a ſchiſmatical Biſhop, which was not only againſt the Law of the Goſpel, but alſo

[a] Ut ad Matrem ſuam, id eſt, Eccleſiam Catholicam revertantur. *Epiſt.* 43. p. 101.

alſo againſt [a] *the Unity of the Catholick Inſtitution*; and as pathetically intreats them, [b] *not to ſeparate themſelves from the Flock of* Chriſt, *his Peace and Concord, but to return to the Church their Mother*; and when it pleaſed God to incline their Hearts to come back to their former Station; he terms it [c] *a returning to the Catholick Church:* So that although their Schiſm had only an immediate reference to their own particular Church, yet by reaſon of their mutual intercourſe between each other, and its ſubverſion of the common Order obſerved by them, it was eſteemed to be a Contradiction to the Unity, and a Separation from the Communion of the whole Catholick Church; for which, reaſon, thoſe who ſchiſmatically diſturbed the Peace and Union of thoſe Churches to which they appertained, were never maintained and encouraged by other Churches, or received to Communion by them: An Inſtance whereof we have *in the Legates of* Novatian, Author of a Schiſm in the Church of *Rome, with whom,* neither

[a] Contra inſtitutionis Catholicæ unitatem. *Epiſt.* 44. §. 1. p. 102.

[b] Voſmet ipſos à Chriſti grege & ab ejus pace & concordiâ ſeparatis,—ad Eccleſiam Matrem revertamini. *Id.* §. 2. p. 102.

[c] Ad Eccleſiam Catholicam regreſſos eſſe. *Epiſt.* 47. §. 1. p. 107.

[a] *Cyprian*

[a] *Cyprian* Biſhop of *Carthage*, nor [b] *Antonius* another *African* Biſhop, *would communicate*, leſt thereby they ſhould impair the Unity of the Univerſal Church, which though [c] *divided into many Members, yet was but one Church:* And which is yet farther obſervable, that the Unity and Order of the Church in this reſpect, might be preſerved entire and inviolable, whoſoever was excommunicated in one Church, was not received into Communion by another, till he had given ſatisfaction unto that Church by which he was cenſured. An eminent Example whereof, is to be ſeen in the Heretick *Marcion*, who being ejected from the Church by his own Father, the Biſhop of *Sinope* in *Pontus*, applied himſelf to the Church of *Rome* to be admitted to Communion there, who rejected him with this Anſwer, That [d] *they could not do it without the permiſſion of his Father, be-*

[a] Et cùm ad nos in Africam legatos miſiſſet, optans ad communicationem noſtram admitti, hinc ſententiam retulerit, ſe foris eſſe cœpiſſe, nec poſſe à quoquam noſtrûm ſibi communicari. *Epiſt.* 67. §. 2. p. 198.

[b] Cum Novatiano te non communicari. *Cyprian. Ep.* 52. §. 1. p. 113.

[c] Una Eccleſia, — in multa Membra diviſa. *Id. Ep.* 52. §. 16. p. 119.

[d] Οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνωθεν τ ἐπιλεγπῆς Ꝟ τιμίᾳ παλεᾷς ζω τᾶτο ποιῆσαι, μία γδ ἐσὶν ἡ πίσις, ϗ μία ἡ ὁμόνοια, ϗ ἐ δυνάμεθα ϖανλιωθῶαι τῷ καλῷ ζυλλειτᾳργῷ, ϖατρὶ Ꝟ σῷ. *Epiphan. adverſ. Hareſ. Marcion.* p. 135.

cauſe

cauſe the Faith is one, and the Concord one; and we cannot contradict our reverend Fellow-Miniſter, but your Father. From all which, it evidently enough appears, That as by aſſenting to the Unity of the Church, an averſion to Hereſies and Hereticks was thereby intended to be declared; ſo by the ſame, it was likewiſe deſign'd to profeſs an adherence to the Catholick Communion, in contradiction to Schiſms and Schiſmaticks; which is not much different from what St. *Auſtin* writes on this Article, [a] *We believe*, ſaith he, *the Holy Church, to wit, the Catholick one; for Hereticks and Schiſmaticks call their Congregations Churches; but Hereticks, by falſe Opinions concerning God, violate the Faith; and Schiſmaticks, by unjuſt Separations, depart from brotherly Love, although they believe what we believe: Wherefore, a Heretick doth not belong to the Catholick Church, becauſe ſhe loves God; nor a Schiſmatick, becauſe ſhe loves her Neighbour.*

[a] Credimus & ſanctam Eccleſiam, utique Catholicam; nam & Hæretici & Shiſmatici Congregationes ſuas, Eccleſias vocant; ſed Hæretici de Deo falſa ſentiendo ipſam fidem violant, Schiſmatici autem diſceſſionibus iniquis à fraternâ charitate diſſiliunt, quamvis ea credant quæ credimus: Quapropter nec Hæreticus pertinet ad Eccleſiam Catholicam, quoniam diligit Deum; nec Schiſmaticus, quoniam diligit proximum. *Tom.* 3. *Fid. & Symbol.* p. 195.

But as the Church is one, ſo the Creed affirms it alſo to be *holy:* For which Appellation, many Reaſons might be given; which, to prevent a Digreſſion from my deſigned Task, I ſhall omit to mention, and only take notice of that which probably the Framers of the Creed intended by it, which is not much different from the intent of the precedent Affection of the Church, *viz.* its Unity; for as by that is declared a Renunciation of the perfidious Tenets and Practices of Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, ſo by this is acknowledged the Truth and Regularity of the Doctrines and Actions of the Catholick Church; that whatſoever ſhe propoſeth to our Faith, (ſtill with this ſuppoſition, that it is according to the holy Scriptures,) is certain, pure, and unqueſtionable: Which Interpretation I gather from the Expoſition of *Ruffinus*, who writes on this Article, That [a] *the Church*, *in*

[a] In quâ una eſt fides, & unum Baptiſma, in quâ unus Deus creditur Pater, & unus Dominus Jeſus Chriſtus, Filius ejus, & unus Spiritus Sanctus, iſta eſt ſancta Eccleſia, non habens maculam, aut rugam: multi enim & alii Eccleſias congregârunt, ut Marcion, ut Valentinus, ut Hebion, ut Manichæus, ut Arius, & cæteri omnes Hæretici, ſed illæ Eccleſiæ non ſunt ſine maculâ aut rugâ perfidiæ; & ideo dicebat de illis Propheta, odivi Eccleſiam malignantium, & cum impiis non ſedebo; de hâc autem Eccleſiâ quæ fidem Chriſti integram ſervat, audi quid dicat Spiritus Sanctus in canticis canticorum, una eſt columba mea, una eſt perfecta genitricis ſuæ. Qui ergo hanc fidem in Eccleſiâ ſuſceperit, nec declinet in Concilio Vanitatis, & cum iniqua gerentibus non introeat. *Expoſit. in Symb.* §. 37. p. 575.

which

which there is one Faith, and one Baptiſm, in which there is believed one God the Father, one Lord Jeſus Chriſt *his Son, and one Holy Ghoſt, is the Holy Church without ſpot or wrinkle; for, many others have gathered Churches, as* Marcion, Valentinus, Ebion, Manichæus, Arius, *and all other Hereticks, but theſe Churches were not without the ſpot or wrinkle of Perfidiouſneſs: Wherefore the Prophet ſaid of them,* I have hated the Church of evil Doers, and will not ſit with the Wicked. *But of this Church which keeps the Faith of* Chriſt *entire, hear what the Holy Ghoſt ſaith in the Song of Songs,* My Dove, my Undefiled is but one, ſhe is the only one of her Mother: *Let him therefore who hath received this Faith in the Church, not turn aſide to the Council of Vanity, neither let him go in the way of evil Doers.* After which, the ſaid Father enumerates ſeveral Hereticks, as *Marcion, Ebion,* and others, who turned aſide to the Council of Vanity, and embraced impious and blaſphemous Opinions; [a] *from whom,* ſaith he, *let the Believer turn aſide and hold the holy*

[a] Ab his omnibus fidelis declinet auditus, Sanctam verò Eccleſiæ fidem teneat, quæ Deum Patrem omnipotentem, & unigenitum Filium ejus Jeſum Chriſtum, &c. profitetur. *Ibid.* §. 38. p. 576.

Faith

Faith of the Church, which is, I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c. From whence it appears, that the Church is metonymically called *Holy*, from the Holineſs and Purity of her Faith: In which ſenſe, *Cyprian* beſeeches God the Father Almighty, and his Son *Jeſus Chriſt* our Lord, That [a] *the Unity and the Sanctity of the Church might not be corrupted by the obſtinacy of Perfidiouſneſs, and heretical Pravity.* So that by affirming the Church to be holy, the Faith and Doctrine thereof is thereby declared to be pure and undefiled.

[a] Ut Unitas ejus & Sanctitas non — perfidiæ & hæreticæ pravitatis obſtinatione vitietur. *Epiſt.* 47. §. 1. p. 107.

The third Affection of the *Church* yet remaining to be conſidered, is *Catholick*; which, as it hath been already remarked, was not originally in this Article, but was introduced by the *Greeks* as an Explication or Determination thereof: The firſt Creed wherein it is found, being that of [b] *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*; after which, it is in both of the Creeds of *Epiphanius*, repeated in his Book, entituled, *Sermo Ancoratus*, and of ſeveral other *Greeks*, from whom it was received by the *Latins*; ſignifying the ſame with *Univerſal*, determining

[b] Καθολικλω— Ἐκκλησίαν. *Apud Theodorit. Eccleſ. Hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 4. p. 18.

termining the *One* and *Holy Church* ſpoken of in this Article, to be that which is diffuſed throughout the whole World, from one end of the Earth unto the other; that [a] *it was not like the Churches of Hereticks, confined within certain Places and Provinces, but enlarged by the ſplendour of one Faith, from the riſing of the Sun to the going down thereof:* Whereby Proviſion was made againſt too narrow and limited Conceptions of the Church; it being too natural even to good Men, and that eſpecially when tranſported with Heat and Zeal, to make the Entrance into the Church narrower than ever the Founder thereof intended it. I would not willingly animadvert ſo far on any of the Primitive Fathers, who were Men famous in their Generations, the Ornament and Splendour of their reſpective Ages, as to ſay, That ſome of them, in favour to their own particular Churches, did ſometimes reduce the Unity and Sanctity of the Church to ſo narrow a compaſs as ſeems to be unbecoming the Charity and Moderation of a Chriſtian, eſpouſing ſuch ſtraiten'd

[a] Catholicam dicit toto orbe diffuſam, quia diverſorum Hæreticorum Eccleſiæ ideo Catholicæ non dicuntur, quia per loca, atque per ſuas quaſque Provincias continentur, hæc verò à Solis ortu uſque ad occaſum unius fidei ſplendore diffunditur. *Auguſt. Tom.* 10. *Serm. de Temp.* 181. p. 535.

ſtraiten'd Notions as excluded many from the number of the Church Militant here, who might be reaſonably preſumed ſhould be Members of the Church triumphant hereafter: But this I will venture to ſay, That to prevent too rigid ſtraiten'd Conceptions of the Church, and the miſtaking of any particular Part thereof for the whole, it is highly probable, that the term *Catholick* was added in the Creed as an Explication of the two former Affections of the Church, to inform and ſettle the true Believer's Judgment in free and moderate Principles, that the *One* and *Holy* Church, is not to be confined to any particular place or corner, but is diffuſed throughout the Face of the whole Earth; that from one end of the World unto another, all thoſe who make a profeſſion of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and retain Chriſtian Love and Charity, however diſagreeing from each other in leſſer and inferiour Points, are the conſtituent Parts and Members of this *One Holy Church*.

Wherefore, to conclude this Article *of the Holy Catholick Church:* By the Repetition thereof, it was intended to declare our firm Perſuaſion, That *Jeſus Chriſt* hath one viſible Body or Church here on Earth, comprehending all the

Profeſſors of his Name throughout the whole World, who retain the Purity of the Faith, and the Unity of the Spirit, in the Bond of Love; unto which Church, as pure and peaceable, in oppoſition to all real Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, we will by the Grace of God, ſtick and adhere.

To the Article of the *Holy Catholick Church*, there is added as its Appendix, *The Communion of Saints*; which is not found in any Creed before St. *Auſtin*'s time, nor in any, as I do think, of his genuine and undoubted Writings, ſeeing in his *Enchiridion* to *Laurentius*, he aſſures us, That [a] *in the Order of the Confeſſion of Faith, the Forgiveneſs of Sins was placed after the Commemoration of the Holy Church*; though it be very likely, that about that time, or not long after, this Clauſe was introduced, not only becauſe it is firſt found in a [b] *Creed recited in a Sermon*, commonly attributed unto him, but alſo becauſe at that time, a probable Occaſion preſented its ſelf for which it ſhould be introduced, *viz.* the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*;

[a] Poſt Commemorationem ſanctæ Eccleſiæ in ordine Confeſſionis ponitur remiſſio Peccatorum. *Tom.* 3. *c.* 64. p. 230.

[b] Sanctam Eccleſiam Catholicam, ſanctorum Communionem. *Tom.* 10. *Serm. de Temp.* 123. p. 385.

Donatiſts; as I ſhall immediately ſhew, after that I ſhall have firſt explained the two Terms of this Clauſe, *Communion* and *Saints*.

And firſt of all, The Term *Saints* is not in this Place to be ſtrictly confined to thoſe who are really and internally holy, but is to be underſtood of all the ſeveral Members of particular Churches profeſſing Chriſtianity; as St. *Paul* directs his Epiſtles to the *Saints* which were at [a] *Epheſus*, [b] *Philippi* and [c] *Coloſſe*; that is, as Dr. *Hammond* expounds it, to the Societies of Chriſtians belonging to thoſe Places, or conſtituting thoſe Churches: The word *Saint* or *Holy* being attributed to the whole, becauſe a great part of them had without doubt, received a Principle of true and inward Sanctity: Or, they might be rather called *Holy* upon the account of their ſeparating themſelves from the heatheniſh and idolatrous World, to the Worſhip of the true God, through *Jeſus Chriſt*: For it is well known, that the primary Notion of the word *Holy* ſignifies no other, than the Separation of a Thing or Perſon from a common and prophane, to a peculiar and religious Uſe: For which Reaſon, the Children of *Iſrael*, though often the great-

[a] Eph. i. 1.
[b] Phil. i. 1.
[c] Coloſ. i. 2.

eſt part of them were vicious and corrupt, are frequently called in the Old Teſtament *an holy People* or *Nation*, becauſe God had choſen them out from the reſt of the World, and ſet them apart for his peculiar People. In which manner alſo, the Creed here ſtyles the Members of particular Churches *Saints* or *Holy*, becauſe by their Profeſſion and Baptiſm, which is a Sign and Seal of Purification, and is metonymically called [a] *a waſhing away of Sins*, they are ſeparated from the reſt of the World, and devoted to the pure and holy Service of the true God, through *Jeſus Chriſt*.

[a] Acts xxii. 16.

Now the Term *Saints* being thus explained, it will not be difficult to apprehend the meaning of the other Term *Communion*; which naturally appears to be this, that there is and ought to be a mutual Intercourſe and Society, Fellowſhip and Communion, in all uſual and regular Ways, between the ſeveral reſpective Churches and Congregations of Chriſtians and Believers, whereby they declare unto the whole World, that although both Neceſſity and Convenience oblige them to aſſemble in diſtinct Places, and compoſe different Societies, that yet nevertheleſs, they are all Members

bers of one and the ſame Body, of which *Chriſt Jeſus* is the Head; that they are all guided by the ſame Spirit, communicate in the ſame Inſtitutions, and governed by the ſame general Rules; ſo that whatſoever is regularly performed and determined in one Congregation, is aſſented to by all others; and whoſoever is received to Communion in one Church, is freely admitted in any other.

Various were the Methods uſed by the Ancients, to maintain an inviolable Communion and Correſpondency between themſelves, and to preſerve the Union of their particular Churches whole and entire; amongſt which the *Communicatory Letters* which the Biſhop elect of any Church ſent to other Biſhops, and they returned to him, were not the leaſt, as [a] *Cornelius* adviſed *Cyprian* Biſhop of *Carthage*, of his Promotion to the See of *Rome*; who, on the contrary, [b] *returned him a Communicatory Letter*, acknowledging him to be Biſhop of that Part of the Univerſal Church, and promiſing to hold Communion with him as a Brother and Fellow Member; which Communicatory Letters, [c] *Antonius* an *African* Biſhop, refuſed to ſend to *Novatian*, a Schiſmatical Pretender

[a] Tuas literas legimus. *Apud Cyprian. Epiſt.* 42. §. 1. p. 99.

[b] Literas noſtras ad te direximus. *Epiſt.* 42. §. 1. p. 99.

[c] *Apud Cyprian. Epiſt.* 52. §. 1. p. 113.

to the Biſhoprick of *Rome*; who, according to the uſual Cuſtom, [a] adviſed by Letter the Canonical Biſhops of ſeveral Churches, that he was advanced unto the Epiſcopal Throne; though all or moſt of them would not ſend back their communicatory Letters unto him, leſt they ſhould thereby diſſolve the Communion and Fellowſhip, which ought to be carefully preſerved between all the particular Members and Congregations of the Holy Catholick and Univerſal Church: And beſides theſe, there was alſo another ſort of Communicatory Letters, granted by the Biſhops and Governours of Churches, to ſuch of their Members as travelled, called by *Tertullian*, [b] *The Communication of Peace, the Title of Brotherhood, and the common Mark of Hoſpitality*; by virtue whereof, they were admitted to communicate in all Churches through which they paſſed: And which is yet farther obſervable, if it happen'd that a Biſhop in his Travels came to a ſtrange Church which was not his own, he was for the Teſtification of their Union and mutual Society, permitted by the Biſhop of that Church to conſecrate the Sacramental

[a] *Id. Epiſt.* 41 §. 1. p. 96.

[b] Communicatio Pacis, & appellatio Fraternitatis, & conteſſeratio Hoſpitalitatis. *De Præſcript. adverſ. Hæret.* p. 76.

tal elements of the Lord's Supper, as [a] *Polycarp* did at *Rome*, *by the conſent of* Anicetus *the then Biſhop of that Church.*

[a] Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ &c. *Iren. apud Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 5. *c.* 24. p. 193.

Many other Methods were alſo made uſe of, to preſerve the Harmony and Communion between particular Churches, which I ſhall wholly omit, and content my ſelf with the brief mentioning of one or two more relating to their Diſcipline, which are more particularly aſſented to by this Article: One whereof is, that although there might be a Diſagreement in ſome leſſer and inferiour Points, yet they ſtill retained Peace and Order; and one Church did not imperiouſly claim and exerciſe a Juriſdiction over another; but, whatſoever was regularly and according to Form performed in one Church, was allowed to be valid and obligatory by all others: Whoſoever was baptized, ordained, or the like, in one Church, was not obliged to receive thoſe things *de Novo*, if his Circumſtances and the Divine Providence ſhould neceſſitate him to be Member of another. To offer to prove this concerning *Baptiſm*, will be the greateſt Impertinency, ſeeing every one knows, that the Baptiſm of Hereticks was deem-

ed

ed valid, and was never reiterated: And as for *Ordination*, there is an Inſtance thereof in one *Numidicus*; who [a] *being a Presbyter before, was admitted into the Number of the Presbyters of* Carthage *without a new Ordination.* And as for other things, they are ſo univerſally known, that it will be ſuperfluous to add the Proof of them. The other Inſtance therefore of their mutual Communion and Fellowſhip, reſpecting their Diſcipline, was, that whoſoever were juſtly and legally cenſured in one Church, were not in oppoſition thereunto countenanced and ſupported by another; but as they were excluded their own Congregation, ſo they were alſo debarred from the Communion of all others, and never admitted into the Fellowſhip of any regular Chriſtian Society, till by their Amendment and Satisfaction they were received again into their own Church unto which they appertained. An Example whereof, I have already given in the Excommunication of *Marcion*, by his own Father the Biſhop of *Sinope* in *Pontus*, which I ſhall not here again recite.

[a] Numidicus Presbyter adſcribatur Preſbyterorum Carthaginenſium numero. *Cyprian. Ep.* 35. p. 84.

But having thus briefly explained the Terms of this Clauſe, *The Communion of Saints*, and ſhewn ſome of the Methods uſed

uſed by the Ancients, to continue and promote their Society and Communion, I ſhall in the next place more particularly enquire into the Occaſion of its being inſerted in the Creed, and ſhew what was chiefly and more particularly deſigned thereby.

Now, as it hath been ſaid before, the Introduction of this Clauſe was occaſioned by the *Donatiſts*, who although orthodox in Matters of Faith and Doctrine, yet by reaſon of a Quarrel at the Election of *Cecilian* to the Biſhoprick of *Carthage*, about the End of the Tenth Perſecution, engaged themſelves in a long, violent, and deplorable Schiſm; arriving to that height of Pride, Uncharitableneſs and Faction, as to affirm their Party, which was confined within the Bounds of *Africa*, and rejected by all Tranſmarine Churches, who were the greateſt Part of the Univerſal One, to be only and ſolitarily the *one Holy Catholick Church*; and that all others were without its Pales and Limits, having no right to adminiſter any of the Inſtitutions thereof; that whatſoever they performed, were Invalidities and mere Nullities. Upon which account, they moſt ſchiſmatically and unchriſtianlike, proceeded to rebaptize, and to perform

form every thing *de Novo* upon thoſe who revolted from the Catholick Church unto their narrow-hearted Sect; thus proudly and unjuſtifiably cutting off all other Churches from their Society and Union, whilſt other Churches moſt juſtly rejected them from their Fellowſhip and Communion. In oppoſition unto which, this Clauſe of *the Communion of Saints* was inſerted in the Creed; whereby theſe two things were declared, *viz.* *the Mark* and *the Property* of true particular Churches, that on the one hand, a Sign to know a regular particular Church by, is entertaining of Communion with it by other Churches; and that on the other hand, it is the Property and Practice of ſuch a particular Church, to maintain all regular Communion and Fellowſhip with others: Of both which I ſhall briefly diſcourſe.

Firſt, this Clauſe may be conſidered as a Mark or Sign by which to know a regular particular Church, that ſuch an one muſt be eſteemed ſo to be, which is acknowledged as ſuch by the other particular Churches and Members of the Catholick and Univerſal One: A ſufficient ground for which Interpretation, is in the Conference of St. *Auſtin* with *Fortunius* a Biſhop of the *Donatiſts*, who, with

with the reſt of his Faction, excluded all the Orthodox from being Members of the Catholick Church, limiting the Bounds of it by their own Party, who were all confined within the Borders of *Africa*; for which reaſon, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, I ask'd him, [a] *Which was the Church? Whether that, which according to the Prediction of the holy Scriptures, ſhould ſpread it ſelf throughout the whole Earth, or that which a ſmall part of* Africa *ſhould contain? Unto which, he firſt endeavoured to aſſert, That their Communion was throughout the whole Earth.* Unto which St. *Auſtin* replies, *That the eaſieſt way to conclude that Queſtion, was for each Party to produce their Communicatory Letters from other Churches. In purſuance whereof,* Fortunius *produced a certain Book, wherein, he ſaid, was contained a Letter from the Council of* Sardis *to the Biſhops of the* Donatiſt's *Communion in* Africa; *which Letter being read, there was found in it the Name of* Donatus *amongſt the other Biſhops, to whom it was directed: Upon*

[a] Quænam eſſet Eccleſia, utrùm illa quæ ſicut ſancta ante Scriptura prædixerat, tanto ſe terrarum orbe diffunderet, an illa quam pars exigua vel Afrorum vel Africæ contineret? Hic primò aſſerere conatus eſt, ubique terrarum eſſe communionem ſuam. Quærebam utrùm Epiſtolas Communicatorias, quas formatas dicimus, poſſet quo vellem dare, &c. *Tom.* 2. *Epiſt.* 163. p. 854, &c.

Upon which, St. Auſtin *asks him, Whether this* Donatus *was the ſame with him from whom they received his Name? For it might be, that he was a Biſhop of another Hereſy, ſeeing the Name of* Africa *is not ſo much as mentioned in the Letter; adding moreover, that it could not be proved that it was this* Donatus, *ſince it could not be made out, that this Letter was ſent to the* African *Churches: For, although* Donatus *be an* African *Name, yet one of another Countrey might be called ſo alſo, or an* African *of that Name might be a Biſhop elſewhere. Beſides, ſuppoſing that this Letter had been really ſent to* Donatus *the Schiſmatical Biſhop in* Africa, *this would be no Proof of the Catholick Churches Communion with, and Acknowledgment of them, ſeeing the Members of that Council did viſibly incline to the* Arian *Faction; and as ſuch were reſiſted and oppoſed both by* Athanaſius *Biſhop of* Alexandria, *and* Julius *Biſhop of* Rome. From all which, as alſo from other Paſſages of the ſaid Father, which I might farther cite, it is moſt clear, That in contradiction to the *Donatiſts*, who were rejected from the Fellowſhip of other Churches, *the Communion of Saints*, or the

the Communicatory Letters from other Churches, and the reſt of the Methods and Tokens of Union then uſed, were eſteemed as Marks and Signs of a particular Church, that was regularly framed and conſtituted.

But, *Secondly*, I think, that in contradiction to the ſame Hereticks, this Clauſe is rather to be underſtood, as expreſſing and declaring the Quality, Property, and Practice of a particular Church, regularly conſtituted and governed. The *Donatiſts* arrived to that height of Pride, Impudence, and Uncharitableneſs, as to unchurch all other Churches beſides themſelves, affirming, that thoſe of their own Party, who were confined to a little Part of *Africa*, were alone *the One Holy Catholick Church*; and that for all the other Churches both of *Europe* and *Aſia*, as well as of the other Parts of *Africa*, they were not Churches of *Jeſus Chriſt*, *but* Synagogues *of Satan*; for which reaſon, they aſſerted all their Ordinances and Adminiſtrations to be mere Nullities, that their Baptiſms, Ordinations, and every thing elſe, were all invalid and of no worth. In conſequence whereof, they performed every thing *de Novo* on thoſe who revolted to them from the

the Catholick Church, avowedly renouncing all Communion and Fellowſhip with every Church, which was not of their Party and Faction. Wherefore in oppoſition to theſe proud Opinions and ſchiſmatical Practices, it is very probable that the *Communion of Saints* was added as an explanatory Clauſe of *the Holy Catholick Church*, to ſignify unto us thereby, that though there was but one Univerſal Church, yet the particular Churches and Members thereof, maintained a ſtrict Union and Correſpondence with each other; that whatſoever was regularly performed in one Church, was eſteemed valid and obligatory by all others; or, that though the Univerſal Church was neceſſarily divided into many Particulars, yet the Chriſtian Unity was not thereby deſtroyed, but was ſtill preſerved by their reciprocal Agreement and Communion: Conſonant whereunto, St. *Auſtin* writes againſt theſe Schiſmaticks, That [a] *the Chriſtian Unity is not divided, becauſe the World is divided into ſeveral Kingdoms, ſeeing in every place where there are Chriſtians, the Catholick Church is found.* And in another place, the ſaid Father ſeriouſly addreſſes

[a] Neque enim quia & in orbem terrarum plerumque regna dividuntur, ideo & Chriſtiana unitas dividitur, cùm in utraque parte Catholica inveniatur Eccleſia. *Tom.* 7. *Part.* 2. *de Unit. Eccleſ. c.* 12. p. 651.

dreſſes himſelf to the *Donatiſtical* Laity, beſeeching them not to be held any longer in their factious and uncharitable Practices by the ſlight and cunning of their Teachers, but to return to the Communion of the Catholick Church, from whence they had ſchiſmatically ſeparated themſelves: *The holy Scriptures*, ſaith he, *mention the place where the Church ſhould begin*, viz. *at* Jeruſalem; *from whence it ſhould go out to the Ends of the Earth. Turn over the ſacred Writings, and you ſhall find, that from* Jeruſalem *it ſpread its ſelf into places far and near. The Names of the Places and Cities are expreſſed and known, wherein the Church of* Chriſt *was founded by the Labours of the Apoſtles:* From whom, ſome of them received Epiſtles; [a] *which Epiſtles*, ſaith he, *they themſelves*, that is, the Clergy of the *Donatiſts*, *read in your Congregations, and yet will not communicate with the Churches of thoſe Places and Cities who received thoſe Epiſtles.* After which, the ſaid Father elegantly introduces the Apoſtolical Churches, expoſtulating with the *Donatiſts* for their uncharitable refuſal to hold Communion

[a] Quas Epiſtolas & ipſi in veſtris congregationibus legunt, & tamen non communicant eorum locorum & civitatum Eccleſiis, quæ ipſas Epiſtolas accipere meruerunt. *Tom.* 7. *Part.* 1. *cont. Donat. poſt Collat. c.* 2. p. 728.

with them; [a] *Let*, ſaith he, *the Churches unto whom the bleſſed Apoſtle* Peter *wrote, of* Aſia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, *and the other* Eaſtern *Parts, ſpeak, and they will ſay, O ye, Party of* Donatus, *we know not what you ſay: Why will ye not communicate with us? If* Ceciliian *hath done any evil, why muſt it prejudice us?* [b] *Let the ſeven Oriental Churches alſo ſpeak, unto whom the Apoſtle* John *wrote, of* Epheſus, Smyrna, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, *and* Pergamus, *and they will ſay, What have we done unto you, Brethren? Why will not you Chriſtians have Peace with Chriſtians? Why will you annul in us the common Sacraments?* [c] *Let alſo the Churches unto whom the Apoſtle*

[a] Clamant Eccleſiæ Pontifices Bithyniæ, Aſiæ, Cappadociæ, cæterarumque Orientalium Regionum, ad quas beatus Petrus Apoſtolus ſcripſit; O Pars Donati, non novimus quid dicatis: quare nobis non communicatis? Si Cæcilianus mali aliquid fecit, —— quare nobis præjudicat? *lb. c.* 3. p. 728.

[b] Clament etiam ſimiliter Eccleſiæ ſeptem Orientales, ad quas ſcribit Apoſtolus Johannes, Epheſi, Smyrnæ, Thyatiræ, Sardis, Philadelphiæ, Laodiceæ, Pergami, & dicant, Quid vobis fecimus, Fratres? Quare, Chriſtiani cum Chriſtianis pacem habere non vultis? Quare in nobis communia Sacramenta, reſcinditis? *Ibid. c.* 4. p. 729.

[c] Dicant etiam Eccleſiæ, ad quas Paulus Apoſtolus ſcribit, Romanorum, Corinthiorum, &c. literas ad nos datas fratres quotidie legitis, qui vultis adhuc eſſe de parte Donati, in ipſis Epiſtolis per nomen pacis nos Apoſtolus ſalutavit, dicens Gratia vobis & Pax à Deo Patre & Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto; Quare pacem in noſtris Epiſtolis legendo didiciſtis, & eam nobiſcum tenere noluiſtis? *Ibid. c.* 4. p. 729.

Apoſtle

Apoſtle Paul *writ, of* Rome, Corinth, Philippi, Coloſſe, *and* Theſſalonica *ſpeak, and they will ſay, You, Brethren of the Party of* Donatus *daily read the Epiſtles ſent to us, in which the Apoſtle ſaluted us by the naming of Peace, ſaying, Grace and Peace be unto you, from God the Father, and from our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt: *Wherefore then have ye learned Peace by reading it in our Epiſtles, and yet will not maintain it with us?* And, after the ſame manner, the ſaid Father might have repreſented all the other Parts of the Catholick Church, reaſoning with the *Donatiſts* for their Pride and Folly in refuſing to hold Communion with them; it being an horrid Piece of Arrogance to limit the Church to their own Party, and an intolerable Act of Schiſm, to require the reiteration of Baptiſm and other Adminiſtrations (which are to be received but once,) on thoſe who were to be admitted into their Church, as if their former Baptiſm, *&c.* had been vain, wholly inſignificant, and nothing at all.

Wherefore, that ſuch ſchiſmatical Notions and Practices, ſo deſtructive of Chriſtian Charity, and ſubverſive of the Unity of the Catholick Church, might be repreſſed and contradicted, it is moſt

probable, that the *Communion of Saints* was added in the Creed as an Appendix to, or Explanation of *the Holy Catholick Church*; by which it was intended to declare, That although there be ſeveral particular Churches and Congregations throughout the Face of the Earth, yet that there ought to be a Communion and Correſpondence between them, as far as is neceſſary, poſſible and convenient; that whatſoever is regularly performed and determined in one, either as to Acts of Worſhip or Diſcipline, muſt be allowed by all others to be valid and good, ſeeing particular Churches are no other than ſo many diſtinct Limbs, Members, or Parts of the Catholick and Univerſal one.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

A brief Explication of the Forgiveneſs of Sins: *Not conſtantly repeated in the Creed till the Days of* Cyprian, *though ſometimes expreſſed, and always ſuppoſed from the very beginning of Chriſtianity. Two Interpretations are given thereof, a primary, and a ſecondary one. To have a clear Idea of the primary one, which reſpects Sins committed before Baptiſm, it will be neceſſary to reflect on the great Wickedneſs of the World before the Publication of the Goſpel; by means whereof they were under Guilt, which the Heathens knew by the Light of Nature, but could not tell how to remove it. The* Jews *had no univerſal Aſſurance of the Pardon of Sins: Wherefore the Apoſtles were ſent forth to reveal an infallible way for the obtaining it,* viz. *by believing, and being baptized; which is proved to be the primary ſenſe of this Article, always ſuppoſed, or elſe expreſſed in the Creed from*

the very firſt preaching of the Goſpel, viz. *that all paſt Sins are for the ſake of* Chriſt, *remitted to all penitential Believers at Baptiſm: Wherein theſe two Things are contained:* Firſt, *That our Sins are forgiven for the ſake of* Chriſt: Secondly, *That the time of their Forgiveneſs is at Baptiſm. Remiſſion of Sins aſcribed to Baptiſm, which is always to be underſtood with due Regards to the Qualifications of the Perſons baptized. Why Sins are ſaid to be forgiven at Baptiſm. The ſecondary ſenſe of this Article, reſpected Sins committed after Baptiſm. The rigorous Notions of the* Baſilidians, Montaniſts, *but eſpecially of the* Novatians, *who denied the Pardon of God, or at leaſt of the Church, to ſcandalous Sins perpetrated after Baptiſm. The wretched conſequences of this Opinion, as an Antidote there-againſt this Clauſe was conſtantly recited in the Creed. Both the Senſes of this Article repeated.* The Reſurrection of the Body *is in ſome Creeds the laſt Article, and may be conſidered in conjunction with the Reſurrection of our Saviour.*

The

The Reſurrection from the Dead being a neceſſary Point of our Religion, and withal being early oppoſed both by Heathens and Hereticks, it hath been always a Part of the Creed from the Apoſtles Days. In the Greek *and* Latin *Creeds, as alſo in the Modern* French *and* Dutch, *it is the Reſurrection* of the Fleſh. *Several Hereticks would equivocatingly aſſent to* the Reſurrection of the Body, *who denied that the ſame fleſhly Subſtance ſhould riſe again. Againſt whom it was emphatically inſerted in the Creed, that there ſhould be the Reſurrection of the* Fleſh; *that is, that the very ſame fleſhly and material Body ſhould riſe again, though the Qualities thereof ſhall be changed and altered.* Life Everlaſting *diverſly placed in the ancient Creeds, pertinently put at the end of the Apoſtles, becauſe it is the end of our Faith, and the determination of every Man to his proper place. The* Gnoſticks *affirmed, that the greateſt part of Mankind ſhould be annihilated at the Day of Judgment; againſt whom, it is declared by this Article, that after that there will be* Life ever-

laſting: *Wherein is included, the eternal Miſery of the Damned, and the everlaſting Happineſs of the Bleſſed.*

THE next Article that in order follows to be enquired into, is *the Forgiveneſs of Sins*; the Terms whereof are ſo plain and eaſy, as that they ſcarce need any Explication at all. Wherefore, that which I underſtand by it, is in brief no other than this, that God for the ſake of *Chriſt*, will freely remit and forgive all manner and kind of Sins, and releaſe their obligation to Puniſhment, unto all ſuch as ſhall unfeignedly repent and believe the Goſpel; wherein I inſert the ſake of *Chriſt*, as alſo Repentance, Faith, and receiving of the Goſpel, as a Cauſe and Conditions of the Remiſſion of Sins, for reaſons which will hereafter follow.

As for the time of the conſtant repetition of this Article in the Creed, it was not till the Days of *Cyprian*, ſeeing it is not in any of the Creeds of *Irenæus*, *Tertullian* or *Origen*, but is firſt of all to be found in a Creed of the forementioned [a] *Father*; after which, it is generally to be met with in all ſucceeding Creeds, which was no doubt, occaſioned by the ſevere and rigorous Notions

[a] Credis — remiſſionem peccatorum? *Epiſt.* 76. §. 6. p. 248.

of the *Baſilidians*, *Montaniſts*, but eſpecially of the *Novatians*, as I ſhall hereafter ſhew.

But, though this Article was not conſtantly demanded with the other Parts of the Creed at Baptiſm, till the Days of *Cyprian*, yet long before his time, even from the Promulgation of the Goſpel, it was always ſuppoſed, and ſometimes expreſſly mentioned to be part of the Faith unto which the baptized Perſon gave his aſſent: In which reſpect I may truly ſay, That this Article is as ancient as any in the Creed; and, that the primary ſenſe thereof is to be fetched from the holy Scriptures, and the Circumſtances of the Apoſtles, and of the *Jewiſh* and *Pagan* World at that time, as well as a ſecondary Interpretation, which afterwards occaſioned its fixed and continual repetition, is to be ſearched for elſewhere.

As for the firſt and primary Senſe, which hath reſpect to Sins committed before Baptiſm; the beſt way to have a clear Idea and Apprehenſion thereof, is to reflect on the ſtate and condition of the World before the preaching of the Goſpel, and the Commiſſion given unto the Apoſtles with reſpect and reference to them.

The

The whole World, as is well known, was at that time drowned in Impiety, Profaneneſs and Ignorance, fallen into the laſt Irregularity and Dregs of Licentiouſneſs, giving themſelves over to all manner of Uncleanneſſes and Abominations; by which Sins, they were neceſſarily fallen under inſupportable loads of Guilt, and bound over to the inevitable Puniſhment and Vengeance of the Almighty, when he ſhould come in his Majeſty and Glory to render a righteous Reward unto every Man according to his Works: Of which the very *Heathens* themſelves were convinced, having found out by their natural Ratiocinations that they were Sinners, and obnoxious to the divine Anger, as appears by their Sacrifices, and other Rites. But now, this was that which ſurpaſſed their moſt raiſed Intellects, How their Sins ſhould be forgiven, and their obligation to Puniſhment by reaſon of them, be cancelled and annulled. They had indeed ſome general Hopes of God's Mercy founded on the common Bounty of his Providence towards them, in giving them Rain from Heaven, and fruitful Seaſons, filling their Hearts with Food and Gladneſs, and the like, which they endeavour'd to increaſe by their Sacri-

Sacrifices, and other religious Rites and Ceremonies; but they had no poſitive aſſurance of the Remiſſion of their Sins, and of the divine Reconciliation unto their Perſons, being ſtill obſcured and bewildred in their Notions and Apprehenſions concerning it, never arriving unto any certain Concluſion; That tho' the Goodneſs of God did now attend them, yet that his Juſtice, Anger, and Vengeance, ſhould not overtake and ſeize them another Day, and ſeverely puniſh them for all thoſe innumerable and abominable Sins, which they themſelves were ſenſible, they had moſt daringly committed againſt him.

And as the *Heathens* knew not how their Sins could be forgiven, and their Perſons abſolved from the Guilt thereof, ſo neither had the *Jews* any perfect and certain Apprehenſion thereof: The *Moſaical* Law had appointed Sacrifices for Sins of Ignorance, and for ſmall and ordinary Tranſgreſſions; by the regular and conſcientious Offering whereof, thoſe Sins were remitted, and the Anger of God appeaſed: But, as for greater and capital Sins, ſuch as Murther, Adultery, and the like, there was a Sentence of Death denounced againſt them; for the reverſing of which, the

Law

Law had made no Proviſion. Unto which it is not improbable, the Pſalmiſt *David* had reſpect in *Pſalm* li. 16. *For thou deſireſt not Sacrifice, elſe would I give it; thou delighteſt not in Burnt-offering; the Sacrifices of God are a broken Spirit, &c.* intimating thereby, That if the Law had preſcribed Sacrifices and Burnt-offerings for his enormous Crimes of Adultery and Murther, he would have offered them unto God; but, ſeeing that no Proviſion was made thereby for the Expiation of thoſe ſcandalous Tranſgreſſions, he would preſent unto the Almighty a broken Heart, and a contrite Spirit, hoping that thoſe might prove acceptable and pleaſing to him.

This being then the condition of the World at the time of our Saviour's appearing therein; they being all, both *Jew* and *Gentile*, concluded under Sin, and not knowing which way to free themſelves from the guilt and condemnation thereof, the Apoſtles were ſent forth with full Power and Authority to invite them both to come into the Chriſtian Church, which they were now founding; aſſuring them, that they ſhould therein receive a complete and perfect Remiſſion of all their Sins and Crimes,

Crimes, though never ſo innumerable and abominable: The Entrance whereinto, was by Baptiſm, ſuppoſed to be accompanied with Faith and Repentance, when for the ſake of *Chriſt*, all the Sins of the baptized Perſon ſhould be entirely obliterated and forgiven.

Thus our Saviour a little before his Aſcenſion into Heaven, authorized his Diſciples to [a] *go into all the World, and preach the Goſpel to every Creature; he that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved:* And at the ſame time informed their Underſtandings, that the holy Scriptures of the Old Teſtament had long before foretold concerning him, [b] *That Repentance and Remiſſion of Sins ſhould be preached in his Name among all Nations, beginning at Jeruſalem.* According unto which Prediction and Command, when they were all inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt on the Day of *Pentecoſt*, the principal end and driſt of St. *Peter*'s Sermon then preached, is ſummed up in theſe words, [c] *Repent and be baptized every one of you, in the Name of* Jeſus Chriſt *for Remiſſion of Sins.* And the ſame Apoſtle concludes his Sermon to *Cornelius* with this Poſition, as the deſign and ſum of his whole precedent Diſcourſe, That

[a] Mark xvi. 15, 16.

[b] Luke xxiv. 47.

[c] Acts ii. 38.

[a] *through*

[a] Acts x. 43. [a] *through the Name of* Chriſt, *whoſoever believeth in him, ſhall receive Remiſſion of Sins*; which was alſo done by St. *Paul* in his Sermon to the *Jews* at *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, wherein he invited them to the Obedience of the Goſpel from this conſideration, That it revealed unto them a Way and Method for the full Pardon of all Sins whatſoever, even of thoſe for which there was no Remedy provided by the Law of *Moſes*; [b] *Be it known unto you therefore, Men and Brethren, that through this Man is preached unto you Forgiveneſs of Sins; and by him, all that believe are juſtified from all things, from which they could not be juſtified by the Law of Moſes.* And the ſame Apoſtle, relating the manner of his Converſion, writes, That *Ananias*, a devout Man of *Damaſcus*, after he had reſtored his Sight unto him, exhorted him ſpeedily to become by Baptiſm, a Member of the Chriſtian Church, that ſo he might receive Remiſſion of Sins: [c] *And now, why tarrieſt thou? Ariſe, and be baptized, and waſh away thy Sins, calling on the Name of the Lord.* From all which it appears, that *the Forgiveneſs of Sins* was always either expreſſed or ſuppoſed in the Creed demanded at Baptiſm, ſeeing Perſons were baptized for that

[b] Acts xiii. 38, 39.

[c] Acts xxii. 16.

that very end, that all their Sins might be remitted and pardoned, through the merit and virtue of that Blood which was ſignified to them, and really applied unto all due Recipients, by the Water in that Ordinance of Baptiſm: From whence it naturally follows, that the primary ſenſe of this Article is, that at Baptiſm all paſt Sins are remitted and forgiven for the ſake of *Chriſt*, unto all believing and penitential Receivers thereof. According unto which, it is thus expounded by ſeveral of the Fathers, as in a Creed extant amongſt the Works of *Athanaſius*, whoſe Author was probably *Vigilius Tapſenſis*: After the Profeſſion of our Saviour's Death, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, Seſſion at God's right Hand, and coming to judge the World, it follows, That [a] *by his Death and Blood we receive Remiſſion of Sins:* And the Explication which *Maximus Taurinenſis* gives hereof, is, That [b] *we muſt believe the Forgiveneſs of Sins, becauſe it is the only remedy that frees Mankind from the ſentence of everlaſting Death; for which end,*

[a] In hujus morte & ſanguine remiſſionem peccatorum conſecuturi. *Tom.* 2. *lib.* 11. *ad Theophil.* p. 588.

[b] Credenda eſt peccatorum remiſſio, quia hoc unum eſt remedium, quod hominum genus à ſententiâ perpetuæ mortis abſolvit; idcirco unigenitus Altiſſimi ſumere dignatus eſt carnem, contentus eſt crucem, ut te qui crimina tua evadere, — non poteras, indulgentia faceret innocentem; ideo immaculatus occiſus eſt agnus, ut ejus cruore humani generis macula tergeretur. *Homil. in Symbol.* p. 240.

the

the only begotten Son of the Moſt High was contented to be incarnated and crucified, that by his Mercy he might make thee innocent, who couldeſt not avoid thy Sins and Crimes; and the ſpotleſs Lamb was ſlain, that by his Blood the ſpots of Mankind might be waſhed away. And St. *Auſtin* writes in his Expoſition of this Article, That [a] *at Baptiſm all our Sins are forgiven, whether original or actual*; with which agrees the *Nicene* or rather the *Conſtantinopolitan* Creed, wherein this Article runs thus, Ὁμολογῶ ἓν Βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, *I acknowledge one Baptiſm for the Remiſſion of Sins.* And the Creed of St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, which is, [b] *I believe in one Baptiſm of Repentance for the Remiſſion of Sins*: So that theſe and others explained this Article in this primary Senſe thereof, *viz.* that all Sins of whatſoever kind, ſort, or degree, are for the ſake of *Chriſt*, perfectly remitted at Baptiſm, to all the due and worthy Receivers thereof: Wherein are theſe two Things contained; *Firſt*, That our Sins are forgiven for the ſake of *Chriſt*: And, *Secondly*, That the time of their Forgiveneſs is at Baptiſm.

First,

[a] Baptiſmatis munere, quod contra Originale peccatum donatum eſt, — activa quoque peccata — tollit. *Tom.* 3. *Enchir. ad Laurent. c.* 64. p. 230.

[b] Εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. *Catech.* 18. p. 220.

Firſt, It is herein contained, that our Sins are forgiven for the ſake of *Chriſt*; unto which conſideration, the Water in Baptiſm, and the waſhing of our Bodies therewith, direct us, ſince it is impoſſible that the ſprinkling of that ſhould purge away the ſtain and guilt of Sin, in any other way or manner, than as it hath reference to, and is a Repreſentation of the Blood of the Lamb of God, which was ſpilt to take away the Sins of the World: For, Water under the Evangelical Diſpenſation, is in it ſelf no more available to the purifying of the Conſcience and the pacifying divine Wrath, than the Blood of Bulls and Goats was under the *Moſaical* and *Legal OEconomy*; of which the Apoſtle expreſſly ſaith, That [a] *it was not poſſible they ſhould take away Sins.* Wherefore, the Apoſtles and Primitive Doctors preached Remiſſion of Sins through the Blood of *Chriſt*, as the alone Remedy of fallen Mankind, as is to be ſeen from the precedent Quotations: Unto which many more might be added, as that of *Acts* v. 31. where St. *Peter* and the reſt of the Apoſtles affirm in their Speech to the Council, That *God had exalted* Jeſus *with his right Hand to be a Prince and a Saviour*,

[a] Heb. x. 34.

viour, *for to give Repentance to Iſrael, and Forgiveneſs of Sins*; and that of *Epheſ.* i. 7. *That we have Redemption through his Blood, the Forgiveneſs of Sins:* And many other ſuch like Texts might be eaſily enumerated, directing us to this neceſſary and fundamental Truth, That the Blood of *Chriſt* typified by the Water of Baptiſm, is the alone Cauſe of the Remiſſion of our Sins and Treſpaſſes; which is not much different from the Expoſition given by *Petrus Chryſologus* of this Article, which is, That [a] *he pardons himſelf, who truſteth that his Sins can be remitted through* Jeſus Chriſt.

[a] Ipſe ſibi donat veniam, qui ſibi peccata per Chriſtum remitti poſſe confidit. *In Symb. Apoſt. Serm.* 57. p. 52.

But, *Secondly*, There is farther to be conſidered the Time of the Forgiveneſs of Sins, which, by the *Conſtantinopolitan* or *Nicene* Creed, is poſitively ſaid to be at Baptiſm; *I acknowledge one Baptiſm for the Remiſſion of Sins:* And by the Apoſtles Creed is ſuppoſed to be, ſeeing this Article was then aſſented to, by which the Perſon to be baptized, did declare, That he firmly believed, that by the Virtue of the Blood of *Chriſt*, all his Sins ſhould be waſhed away by the Sacramental Water: And, the very end for which Perſons

ſons were baptized, was, That their Iniquities might be pardoned, according unto the Exhortation of St. *Peter* to the convinced *Jews*, [a] *Repent, and be baptized every one of you, in the Name of* Jeſus Chriſt *for Remiſſion of Sins.* From whence it comes, that Forgiveneſs of Sins, and other ſuchlike noble Epithets and Appellations, are frequently attributed by the Fathers unto Baptiſm; as by *Tertullian*, it is called [b] *a Waſhing away of our Sins, a Salvation into eternal Life, a Diſſolution of Death,* [c] *a taking away of Guilt, and conſequently of Puniſhment alſo*; by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, [d] *Grace, Illumination, Perfection*; by *Dionyſius Alexandrinus*, [e] *a Purgation from the Filth of old and impure Leaven*, [f] *a participation of Adoption and Grace*; by *Juſtin Martyr*, [g] *Regeneration*, that being no longer Children of Ignorance, but of Election

[a] Acts ii. 38.

[b] Fœlix Sacramentum aquæ noſtræ, quia ablutis delictis priſtinæ cæcitatis, in vitam æternam liberamur. ——— Lavacro dilui mortem. *De Baptiſm. p.* 597.

[c] Exempto, ſcilicet reatu, eximitur & pœna. *Ibid. p.* 599.

[d] Χάρισμα καὶ φώτισμα καὶ τέλειον. *Paedag. lib.* 1. *c.* 6. *p.* 69.

[e] Ἀνακαθάρσιος τῆς τῦ παλαιᾶς καὶ ἀκαθάρτε ζύμης ῥύπου. *Apud Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt.* lib. 7. c. 5. p. 252.

[f] Παραδοχῆς καὶ χάριτος τυχεῖν. *Ibid.* c. 9. p. 255.

[g] Ἀναγεννᾶσθαι, ——— ἀφέσεως τε ἁμαρτιῶν, ὑπὲρ ὧν προημάρτομεν τύχωμεν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι. *Apolog.* 2. p. 94.

and Knowledge, *we obtain the Forgiveneſs of our paſt Sins in the Water*; and many other ſuch like Appellations are every where to be met with in the Writings of the Fathers: By which we muſt not imagine, that they apprehended Baptiſm of its ſelf, without any regard to the Qualification of its Subject, to be ſufficient and effectual for the blotting out of Sin, and the pardoning of Iniquity, but their meaning was, That whoſoever was Evangelically prepared for that Ordinance by a ſincere Repentance and an unfeigned Faith, unto him, and him alone, was Baptiſm efficacious to the remitting and waſhing away of his Sins and Crimes; according to that of our Saviour, [a] *He that believeth, and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved*; and that of St. *Peter*, [b] *Repent, and be baptized every one of you, in the Name of* Jeſus Chriſt, *for Remiſſion of Sins*: In which Texts Faith and Repentance are made neceſſary Ingredients of effectual and ſaving Baptiſm. For, as *Juſtin Martyr* well reaſons, [c] *What profit is there in that Baptiſm, which only makes the Fleſh and Body ſhining? Baptize*, or waſh *the*

[a] Mark xvi. 16.

[b] Acts ii. 38.

[c] Τί γὰρ ὄφελος εἰπεῖν τὸ βαπτίσματος, ὁ τὴν σάρκα καὶ μόνον τὸ σῶμα φαιδρύνει; βαπτίσθητε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπ' ὀργῆς καὶ ἀπὸ πλεονεξίας, ἀπὸ φθόνου, ἀπὸ μίσους, καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ σῶμα καθαρόν ἐστι. *Dialog. cum Tryph.* p. 231.

the Soul from Anger and Covetouſneſs, from Envy and Hatred, and then the Body is clean.

[a] *Simon Magus*, as *Origen* obſerves, *was baptized, and yet was not waſhed for Salvation.* As it was not the Water, but the Blood of *Chriſt* which waſhed away Sins in Baptiſm, ſo neither were the Sins of any waſhed away thereby, but of thoſe who repented and believed. For which reaſon, the Diſcipline of the Church took care, that none ſhould be admitted to Baptiſm till they had by a convenient time of Tryal given ſufficient proofs of the Sincerity of their Faith and Repentance; during which time, they were gradually inſtructed in the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, and endeavoured more and more to amend their Lives by an increaſe in an holy and godly Converſation: After which, as *Origen* remarks, [b] *When they had to the utmoſt of their Power lived better, then they were initiated in the Chriſtian Myſteries.*

[a] Simon lotus eſt — verùm — non erat lotus in ſalutem. *Homil. 6. in Ezechiel.*

[b] Ὅση δυνάμις βέλτιον βιῶσιν, τότε τελειοῦνται καλῶς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς παρ' ἡμῖν τελετάς. *Contra Celſum*, lib. 3. p. 147.

The Antecedents unto Baptiſm are thus briefly related by *Juſtin Martyr*,

That [a] *whosoever were perſuaded of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, and would endeavour to live according to the Rules thereof, were inſtructed by Faſting and Prayer, to beg of God the Remiſſion of their paſt Sins, and then they were baptized.* Agreeably whereunto *Tertullian* writes, That [b] *Perſons to be baptized, were to give themſelves to Prayer, Faſting, and Watching, and to make a Confeſſion of all their paſt Sins.* And in his Book *De Pœnitentia*, the ſaid Father more largely diſcourſes of the ſtate of Repentance that was to be undergone before Baptiſm. Unto which, and the other Primitive Writings relating hereunto, I refer the Reader; ſeeing it is univerſally known, that none were permitted to be baptized, before they had by a ſufficient time of Tryal, given ſuch evident Proofs of their Converſion and Repentance, as every Man according to the Rule of Charity, would judge them to be ſincere and real.

[a] Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύσωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα, καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιῶν ἔτως δυνασθῶσι τὰ ἐκείνων, εὔχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ——— ἔπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστί. *Apol.* 2. p. 93.

[b] Ingreſſuros Baptiſmum orationibus crebris, jejuniis, & geniculationibus, & pervigiliis orare oportet, & cum confeſſione omnium retro delictorum. *De Baptiſm.* p. 604.

But

But then, beſides this ſtate of Probation, at the time of Baptiſm its ſelf, in a moſt ſolemn manner before God and Man, they acknowledged and proteſted their Repentance and Faith; declaring before the whole Congregation, that they renounced the Devil, the World, and the Fleſh; that they believed all the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith; and that by the Grace of God, they would walk according to the Rules thereof, all the Days of their Lives. Upon the Profeſſion of which Repentance and Faith, preceded by a convenient Tryal of the Reality thereof, they were admitted to Baptiſm for the Remiſſion of their Sins; which, by the Blood of *Chriſt*, were in that Ordinance unto all, ſo repenting and believing, freely remitted and forgiven.

But, if any impenitent and unbelieving Perſons were waſhed with the Baptiſmal Water, it profited them nothing at all, but on the contrary, extremely prejudiced them by the aggravation of their Guilt, and conſequently by the augmentation of their Woe: For which reaſon, *Origen* gives this ſeaſonable and pertinent Exhortation to the *Catechumens*, that is, to thoſe who were in the preparatory State for Bap-

tiſm; [a] *Come*, ſaith he, *ye* Catechumens, *and repent, that ye may be baptized for the Remiſſion of Sins: He receives Baptiſm for the Remiſſion of Sins, who hath left off to Sin; for, if any one comes ſinning to that Laver, his Sins are not forgiven him. Wherefore, I beſeech you, do ye not without caution and diligent Circumſpection come to Baptiſm; but, firſt of all bring forth Fruits meet for Repentance; ſpend ſome time in a good Converſation, keep your ſelves clean from all Filthineſs and Vice: And then your Sins ſhall be forgiven, when ye your ſelves begin to contemn them.*

[a] Venite, Catechumeni, agite pœnitentiam, ut in remiſſionem peccatorum Baptiſma conſequamini, in remiſſionem peccatorum ille accipit Baptiſma, qui peccare deſiſtit. Si quis enim peccans ad lavacrum venit, ei non fit remiſſio peccatorum. Propterea, obſecro vos nè abſque cautelâ & diligenti circumſpectione veniatis ad Baptiſmum, ſed oſtendatis primùm fructus dignos pœnitentiæ; facite aliquod temporis in converſatione bonâ, mundos vos à cunctis ſordibus vitiiſque ſervate: Et tunc vobis remiſſio peccatorum fiet, quando cœperitis & ipſi propria peccata contemnere. *Hom.* 21. *in Lucam.*

So that from all theſe Citations it is moſt evident, that the Fathers eſteemed Repentance and Faith to be neceſſary unto the Efficacy of Baptiſm, without which it can be of no ſaving profit or advantage at all; and that, whenſoever they termed Baptiſm *a cleanſing or forgiving of Sin*, or the like, they underſtood it ſolitarily and only with relation

to

to thoſe who were duly qualified by Faith and Repentance for the reception of it; as for the moſt part, they are in Charity ſuppoſed to be, who are baptized in a Church wherein Diſcipline and Government is maintained and exerciſed.

But, to return to the time of the Remiſſion of Sins committed in an Heatheniſh and Unconverted State, which by the *Nicene* Creed is expreſſed, and by that of the Apoſtle's ſuppoſed to be at *Baptiſm*; the Reaſon thereof was, becauſe every one did at the time of his Baptiſm, ſolemnly renounce and forſake the Devil, the World, and the Fleſh, and entirely devote and conſecrate himſelf to the Worſhip and Service of God, through *Jeſus Chriſt*; and as a viſible Evidence, Sign and Token thereof, did on his part receive the Sacramental Water of Baptiſm, appointed by *Jeſus Chriſt* for that very End; whilſt on the other part, God through the ſame Ordinance, ſealed and conveyed Grace and Pardon unto every Perſon thus ſincerely qualified and diſpoſed: For the very End of this Inſtitution was, That on the one hand, Men might teſtify their Repentance and Faith in *Chriſt* thereby; and that on the other hand, God might by the ſame, convey and aſſure them of the full

full Pardon and plenary Forgiveneſs of all their Sins whatſoever. For which reaſon it comes to paſs, that by *Cyprian* and others, *Baptiſm* and *Remiſſion of Sins* are uſed as convertible Terms, becauſe in the former, God was pleaſed to confer the latter on all thoſe who were prepared and fitted for it.

But that I may conclude with the chief and primary Interpretation of this Article, it is evident from what hath been ſaid, to be no other than this, That all Sins whatſoever, committed before Baptiſm in an Heatheniſh or Unregenerate Eſtate, are in that Ordinance for the ſake of *Chriſt*, and the Satisfaction made by his Blood to the Divine Juſtice, entirely forgiven and remitted, unto all thoſe who unfeignedly repent of their Sins, and believe the Goſpel.

But, beſides this Explication of the Article before us, there is yet another ſecondary Senſe thereof reſpecting Sins committed after Baptiſm, which occaſioned its conſtant and perpetual repetition in the Creed; being therein placed to be an Antidote againſt the heretical Rigours of the *Baſilidians*, *Montaniſts*, but chiefly and principally of the *Novatians*, who maintained ſuch ſevere and cruel Notions, as too injuriouſly

riouſly reflected on the Mercy of God, and the Merits of *Chriſt*, and were extremely prejudicial to Mens Salvation, naturally forcing them to Deſpair and Horror. [a] *The* Baſilidians *affirmed, That not all Sins, but only involuntary ones, and Sins of Ignorance, ſhould be pardoned.* The *Montaniſts* [b] *denied the Pardon of God, or at leaſt of the Church, to all ſcandalous and heinous Sinners.* But, thoſe who were moſt noted for their Rigour and Severity, were the *Novatians*, who maintained, That [c] *there was no Mercy for him who ſhould fall after Baptiſm*; that is, either that God would not pardon thoſe who ſhould ſcandalouſly ſin after they were baptized; or rather, that the Church could not forgive them, and receive them into Communion again, but muſt for ever exclude them from her Society, and leave them to the Judgment of God hereafter.

[a] Οὐδὲ πάσας ὁ Βατιλείδης φησὶ, μόνας ⸗ τὰς ἀκουσίους ⸗ ἀγνοιαν ἀφιεσ. *Clem. Alexand. Strom.* l. 4. c. 390.

[b] Nè Montanus & Novatus hîc rideant, qui contendunt non poſſe renovari per pœnitentiam eos qui crucifixerunt ſibimet Filium Dei, &c. *Hieron. Tom.* 2. *lib.* 2. *adverſ. Jovin.* p. 164.

[c] Μετὰ ⸗ τὸ λαβεῖν μηκέτι δύνασ ἐλεεῖσ ἁμαρτεῖν ἀποκόται. *Epiphan. adverſ. Hareſ. Cathar.* p. 214.

St. *Auſtin*

St. *Auſtin* obſerves, That [a] *there is a threefold Repentance to be found in the holy Scripture; the firſt, a Repentance at Baptiſm, when all the Sins of the penitent are blotted out*; [b] *the ſecond, a daily Repentance*, which is the continued work of every Chriſtian: For even after he is baptized, through the Temptations of the Devil, the Deluſions of the World, and the Infirmities of the Fleſh, he will have unavoidable Miſcarriages and Defects; of which he is continually to repent, and to beg of God the Pardon of them, *according to the fifth Petition of the Lord's Prayer, wherein our Saviour teacheth us to pray, Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*: [c] *The third a more heavy and grievous Repentance, performed in the Church by thoſe who are called Penitents, who having committed Adultery, Murther, Sacrilege, or any other*

[a] Triplex autem conſideratio agendæ pœnitentiæ in ſanctâ Scripturâ invenitur; nam neque ad baptiſmum Chriſti, in quo omnia peccata delentur, quiſquam benè accedit, niſi agendo pœnitentiam de vitâ priſtinâ. *Tom.* 10. *Homil.* 27. p. 615.

[b] Alia quotidiana, & ubi illam oſtendimus pœnitentiam? Non habeo ubi meliùs oſtendam, quàm in oratione Dominicâ, ubi orare nos docuit:—Dimitte nobis debita noſtra, ſicut & non dimittimus debitoribus noſtris. *Ibid.* p. 619.

[c] Pœnitentiæ tertium genus—eſt pœnitentia gravior atque luctuoſior, in quâ propriè vocantur in Eccleſiâ pœnitentes, remoti etiam à Sacramentis altaris participandis, nè accipiendo indignè judicium ſibi manducent & bibant, illa verò pœnitentia luctuoſa eſt,—adulterium fortè commiſſum eſt, fortè homicidium, &c. *Ibid.* p. 620.

other ſandalous and heinous Crimes, are excluded from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, leſt by eating it unworthily, they ſhould eat and drink Judgment to themſelves. Under which ſuſpenſion they are continued, till they have given ſufficient Evidences of their Repentance; by means whereof, they obtain a Readmiſſion to the Communion of the Church, and unto thoſe Rights and Privileges which by their Miſcarriages they had forfeited and loſt.

Now the two former Kinds of Repentance the *Novatians* allowed, but abſolutely diſowned the third and laſt, refuſing to receive again into the Communion of the Church thoſe who had lapſed in times of Perſecution, or any other ſort of ſcandalous Sinners whatſoever, though they gave the moſt convincing Proofs of their Humiliation, Sorrow, and Repentance: Which cruel and unmerciful Doctrine is with good reaſon affirmed by *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, [a] *to be moſt wicked towards God, and reproachful to our moſt merciful Lord* Chriſt Jeſus, *repreſenting him, as one*

[a] Περὶ ᾧ Θεῷ διδασκαλίαν ἀνοσιωτάτην, — καὶ τ χρηστότατον Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὡς ἀνημέρῳ ζυκοφαντοῦσι. *Apud Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 7. *c.* 8. p. 254.

that

that is implacable: And, by *Cyprian*, to be [a] *a ſevere Impiety of heretical Preſumption; by which, the Conſolations of divine Pity and fatherly Lenity are ſhut againſt the penitent and mourning Servants of God, who knock at the Church with Tears, Sighs and Groans; ſo that the wounded are not admitted to have their Wounds cured; but, being left without any hope of Peace or Communion, are thrown out to the Rapine of Wolves, and the Prey of the Devil.* For which reaſon, the ſaid Father calls *Novatian*, who was the Propagator and principal Maintainer of theſe cruel and rigid Notions, [b] *an Enemy of Mercy, a Murtherer of Repentance, a Doctor of Pride, a Corrupter of Truth, and a Deſtroyer of Charity.*

[a] Hæreticæ præſumptionis duriſſimam pravitatem, ut ſervis Dei pœnitentibus & dolentibus, & ad Eccleſiam lacrymis & gemitu & dolore pulſantibus, divinæ pietatis & lenitatis paternæ ſolatia & ſubſidia claudantur; nec ad fovenda vulnera admittantur vulnerati, ſed ſine ſpe pacis & communicationis relicti, ad luporum rapinam, & prædam diaboli projiciantur. *Epiſt.* 67. §. 1. p. 198.

[b] Miſericordiæ hoſtis, interfector pœnitentiæ, doctor ſuperbiæ, veritatis corruptor, perditor caritatis. *Epiſt.* 57. §. 3. p. 159.

The natural conſequences of this Hereſy being then ſo diſhonourable to God, ſo prejudicial to the Church, ſo contrary to the Spirit of the Goſpel, and ſo deſtructive to the Souls of Men, it is no

no wonder, that at the first broaching thereof by *Montanus*, or at least, at the revival of it with greater vigour and success by *Novatian*, the Fathers of the Church ordained, That the *Forgiveness of Sins* should be constantly repeated in the Creed at Baptism; to declare thereby, that not only Sins committed before Baptism were then pardoned to the duly qualified and disposed, but that also all Sins perpetrated after Baptism, even the most scandalous and notorious, (the irremissible one against the Holy Ghost still excepted,) were pardonable and remissible upon the renewal of Repentance and Faith, both by God and the Church; that as the former would not exclude the penitent from Heaven, so neither should the latter seclude them from her Communion on Earth.

Now that this Article was thus assented to, in contradiction to these heretical Rigours of the *Montanists* and *Novatians*, is abundantly evident from the Writings of the Fathers. St. *Jerom* observes, That the *Montanists* and the Orthodox Christans [a] *disagreed in the Rule of Faith*, or in the Creed, and particularly in the Article of *the Forgiveness of Sins*,

[a] In fidei regulâ discrepamus — illi ad omne pænè delictum Ecclesiæ obserunt fores, nos quotidiè legimus, malo pœnitentiam peccatoris quàm mortem. *Tom.* 2. *ad Marcel. Epist.* 54. p. 193.

for

for they ſhut the Church Doors for every Fault almoſt; but we, ſaith he, *read every Day, I rather deſire the Repentance than the Death of a Sinner.*

The Author of the Explanation of the Creed to *Damaſus*, wrongfully ſuppoſed to be St. *Jerom*, imagined by *Bellarmin* and *Launoy* to be *Pelagius*, thus explains this Clauſe againſt the forementioned Severities, That [a] *if a Man falls after Baptiſm, we believe that he may be ſaved by Repentance.*

[a] Hominem ſi poſt baptiſmum lapſus fuerit, per pœnitentiam credimus poſſe ſalvari. *Inter Oper. Hieron. Tom.* 9. p. 71.

But above all, St. *Auſtin* in ſundry places thus interprets it, as in his *Enchiridion* to *Laurentius*, where, after he hath mentioned the precedent primary Senſe thereof, he adds this ſecondary one, That [b] *as for great Sins to be remitted in the Holy Church, the Mercy of God is not to be deſpaired*

[b] Sed neque de ipſis criminibus, quamlibet magnis, remittendis in ſanctâ Eccleſiâ, Dei deſperanda eſt miſericordia agentibus pœnitentiam ſecundùm modum ſui cujuſque peccati; in actione autem pœnitentiæ, ubi tale crimen commiſſum eſt, ut is qui commiſit à Chriſti etiam corpore ſeparetur, non tam conſideranda eſt menſura temporis, quàm doloris; cor enim contritum & humiliatum Deus non ſpernit: verùm quia plerumque dolor alterius cordis occultus eſt alteri, neque in aliorum notitiam niſi per verba vel quæcunque alia ſigna procedit, — rectè conſtituuntur ab iis, qui Eccleſiæ præſunt, tempora pœnitentiæ, ut fiat etiam ſatis Eccleſiæ, in quâ remittuntur ipſa peccata. *Tom.* 3. *Enchirid. ad Laurent. c.* 65. p. 230.

of

of by thoſe who repent according to the meaſure of their Sin; but, in the Action of Repentance, where ſuch a Crime is perpetrated, as that the Committer thereof is ſeparated from the Body of Chriſt, *the meaſure of Time is not ſo much to be conſidered as the meaſure of Sorrow; for God deſpiſeth not a contrite and humbled Heart: But, becauſe the Sorrow of one Man's Heart is hid from another, and cannot be known by others, except by Words and other external Signs, therefore Times of Penance are appointed by the Eccleſiaſtical Governours, that the Church may be ſatisfied, in which their Sins are remitted.* And in another place, where he cautions his Readers particularly againſt thoſe ſeveral Hereticks who denied the ſeveral Parts of the Creed, he directly levels this Article againſt the *Novatians*, ſaying thereon, [a] *Let us not hear thoſe who deny, that the Church of God can forgive all Sins.* And elſewhere, where he largely proſecutes this ſecondary Explication of the Article before us,

[a] Nec eos audiamus, qui negant Eccleſiam Dei omnia peccata poſſe dimittere. *Tom.* 3. *de Agone Chriſtian.* p. 31. p. 1032.

us, [a] *He wonders that any ſhould be ſo obſtinate, as to deny Repentance to the lapſed, or Pardon to the penitent, when it is written, Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do thy firſt Works: And when the Lord exhorts to riſe again by Works, where it is written, Charity delivereth from Death, that is, not from that Death which the Blood of* Chriſt *hath once extinguiſhed, and the ſalutary Water of Baptiſm, and the Grace of our Redeemer hath ſaved us from, but from that which afterwards crept in by Sin.* From all which, it appears, That by the conſtant repetition of *the Forgiveneſs of Sins*, the Compilers of the Creed intended to declare thereby, in oppoſition to the *Novatians*, and others, That ſcandalous Sins committed after Baptiſm, were upon an unfeigned and ſincere Repentance, remiſſible both by God and the Church.

So that from all that hath been ſaid, we

[a] Miror autem quoſdam ſic obſtinatos eſſe ut dandam non putent lapſis pœnitentiam, aut pœnitentibus exiſtiment veniam denegandam, cùm ſcriptum ſit, Memento unde excideris, & age pœnitentiam & fac priora opera, — & quum Dominus hortatur per opera rurſus exurgere, quia ſcriptum eſt, eleemoſyna à morte liberat, & non utique ab illa morte, quam ſemel ſanguis Chriſti extinxit, & aqua noſ ſalutaris Baptiſmi & Redemptoris noſtri gratia liberavit, ſed ab eâ quæ per delictum poſtmodum ſurrepſit &c. *Tom* 10. *Serm. de Temp.* 181. p. 538.

we may conclude, that by this Article of the Creed, it was intended to be profeſſed, That all Sins committed before Baptiſm, are at that time, for the ſake of *Chriſt*, completely forgiven to all penitent Believers; and that all Sins committed after Baptiſm, though never ſo ſcandalous and offenſive, are upon the renewal of Faith and Repentance, pardonable both by God and the Church. Both which Explications whereof were given by the Biſhops to *Conſtantine* the Great, as it is reported by *Zozomen*, who relating the Hiſtory of the famous Croſs, which our Saviour impreſſed on his Fancy, commanding him to make one in the Form and Likeneſs thereof; farther adds, That the next Morning the Chriſtian Biſhops expounded unto him the meaning thereof, and from thence took an occaſion to recommend unto him ſeveral of the Articles of the Creed; the laſt whereof was, *the Forgiveneſs of Sins*, delivered by them in this brief Periphraſis, [a] *That there is hope of Salvation and Remiſſion of Sins, to Per-*

[a] Εἶναι μὲν τοῖς καὶ τοῖς οὕτω θανατωθεῖσι μελήμασιν ἀφορμὴν σωτηρίας, καὶ καθαρμὸν ἁμαρτημάτων, μύσταις μὲν μύησιν καὶ τὸν νόμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῖς δὲ μεμυημένοις, τὸ μὴ πάλιν ἁμαρτεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἀνελεήτως ἐλίσσων καὶ θείαν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλαβόμενος, ἐδιδάσκετο δεύτερον καθαρμὸν τελάσθαι ἐκ μετανοίας φιλανθρωπότερον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Θεὸν, συγνώμην νέμειν τοῖς ἐπταικόσιν εἰ μεταμεληθεῖεν, καὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς τὴν μεταμέλειαν διαπράσσοιεν. *Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 1. *c.* 3. *p.* 405.

ſons in this Life; to thoſe who have not yet been initiated in the Myſteries of the Church, by receiving that ſaid Initiation, but to thoſe who have been initiated, not to ſin again: But, as the ſaid Hiſtorian continues to write, *becauſe there are but few Men, and thoſe moſt Holy and Divine; who can ſo do, therefore the Biſhops farther inſtructed the Emperour, that there was a ſecond Expiation appointed by Repentance; for, God being merciful and kind, will pardon thoſe who have ſinned, provided they repent, and confirm their Repentance by good Works.*

Having thus diſpatch'd the Article of *the Forgiveneſs of Sins*, the next that muſt be enquir'd into, is *the Reſurrection of the Body*; which in the Creeds of [a] *Jerom*, and ſeveral others, is the laſt Article thereof; *Life everlaſting* being not expreſſed, but ſuppoſed in the *Reſurrection*. But, ſeeing they are in the Apoſtles Creed, and in ſeveral other ancient ones diſtinctly mentioned, I ſhall conſider them apart, and begin with the firſt in order, *The Reſurrection of the Body:* In the

[a] In Symbolo fidei — omne Chriſtiani dogmatis Sacramentum, carnis reſurrectione concluditur. *Tom. 2. adverſ. Error. Johan. Hieroſol. Epiſt.* 61. *c.* 9. p. 219.

the Explication whereof, it muſt be remembred, That whatſoever is related concerning our Reſurrection, may for the moſt part be alſo applied to that of our Lord's, ſeeing his Reſurrection was the Cauſe and Exemplar of ours; and both his and our Reſurrection were denied by the ſame Perſons, and in the ſame way and manner.

Now, as for the time of its being inſerted in the Creed, it is moſt evident, That the Reſurrection from the Dead, hath been always part of the Creed from the very beginning of Chriſtianity; which appears not only from the ancient Creeds, but alſo from the weight and moment of the Doctrine its ſelf, it being a Point on which the whole Chriſtian Religion ſeems to depend.

For, if there ſhould be no Reſurrection of the Dead, the Chriſtian Religion would be a mere Chimæra and Fable; and the grand Attractive, by which it was recommended to the World, would be no other than a mere Lye and downright Deluſion: For, when the Apoſtles went forth to convert the Heathen World, the Method which they took for that end, as we ſee by the Example of St. [a] *Paul* at *Athens*, was, *to preach* Jeſus *and the Reſurrection*; that is, to

[a] Acts xvii. 18.

reveal a Saviour to them, who might redeem them from their ſinful and loſt condition; and then, that they might engage them to a willing and perſevering Obedience in that Saviour's ſervice, notwithſtanding all Oppoſitions and Perſecutions to aſſure them of a Reſurrection, when the eternal Majeſty ſhould by his Son *Chriſt Jeſus*, whom he had as a Specimen and Pledge raiſed from the Dead, judge the World in Righteouſneſs, and render unto every Man a ſuitable Reward according unto his Works.

Now, I ſay, if there ſhould be no Reſurrection of the Dead, this grand Motive to the believing of the Goſpel, would be enervated and entirely deſtroyed; and thoſe who have been engaged thereby to the embracing of Chriſtianity, would be moſt miſerably cheated and deluded; which would be ſuch an odious and blaſphemous Reflection on the Chriſtian Religion, and the Divine Author thereof, as no Chriſtian can be imagined to entertain: From whence it comes to paſs, that the Apoſtle *Paul*, diſputing againſt ſome Chriſtians in the Church of *Corinth*, who denied the Reſurrection of the Dead, makes uſe of this Argument againſt them for the Proof

thereof;

thereof; [a] *Elſe what ſhall they do*, ſaith he, *which are baptized for the dead? If the dead riſe not at all, why are they then baptized?* Which place of Scripture, by reaſon of its Obſcurity, is capable of many Interpretations; but yet, I think, without any force of the words, this Explication may be naturally given thereof, *viz.* If there ſhall be no Reſurrection of the Dead, what will they do? Or what Profit and Advantage will they have, who embrace Chriſtianity, and are baptized from the Perſuaſion of the Reſurrection? How fooliſh and ridiculous is it for them to be baptized from the conſideration of the Reſurrection, that they may ariſe amongſt the number of the Juſt, if the Dead ſhall not riſe at all? Which is not much different from the *Æthiopick* Verſion, wherein the Verſe is thus rendered; *Elſe, why do they baptize? Is it not, that they may ariſe from the dead? If therefore they ſhall not be raiſed from the dead, why then do they baptize?*

[a] 1 Cor. xv. 29.

But this is not the alone Inconvenience that would follow upon the Denial of the Reſurrection, as is to be ſeen in the forementioned place, wherein the Apoſtle farther argues the Truth

and Certainty thereof, from the prodigious madneſs and folly, which otherwiſe all Chriſtians, eſpecially in perſecuting Times, as thoſe then were, would be guilty of; *If the Dead*, ſaith he, *riſe not at all*, [a] *why ſtand we in jeopardy every Hour?* That is, if there be no Reſurrection of the Dead, why then do we for the ſake of *Chriſt* run Risks and Hazards, and expoſe our ſelves to all manner of Torments, Cruelties and Severities? Why do we daily encounter *with Men*, who are more furious and ſavage than *wild Beaſts?* What doth this unneceſſary hazarding of our ſelves advantage us? Nay rather, doth it not harm and injure us? For *if the Dead riſe not at all*, it would be the wiſeſt and moſt prudent courſe *to eat and drink, becauſe to morrow we ſhall die*; to enjoy the Pleaſures of Senſe, and to gratify the carnal Eaſe of our Bodies, becauſe we ſhall ſhortly die, and never live more to experience either Sorrow or Happineſs, Miſery or Felicity.

[a] 1 Cor. xv. 30, *&c.*

I might yet farther ſhew in other reſpects, the great weight and neceſſity of this Article of *the Reſurrection of the Body*; but I ſhall wave them, ſeeing thoſe already mentioned, ſufficient-

ly

ly prove the Belief thereof to be of the laſt and greateſt conſequence: Upon which account it is moſt reaſonable to imagine, that the Apoſtles would not omit to require the aſſent of their Converts unto this Article at their Baptiſm, ſeeing without the ackowledgment of this, they could not well be termed Chriſtians, or Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion.

And, beſides this, there was yet ſomething more, which might poſſibly oblige them to the conſtant repetition thereof, *viz.* the early and vigorous oppoſition which was made thereunto in their Days, both by Heathens and Hereticks.

The Philoſophers, who were the wiſeſt and moſt thinking part amongſt the Pagans, had at the beſt, but very obſcure and uncertain Notions of a Reſurrection; whence the [b] *Epicurean* and *Stoick* Philoſophers, who encountered St. *Paul* at *Athens*, when they heard of the Reſurrection, mocked him; *ſome ſaying, that he ſeemed to be a ſetter forth of ſtrange Gods, becauſe he preached unto them* Jeſus *and the Reſurrection*; and as for the prophaner and leſs conſiderate part of the Heathens, they jeered at it, and derided it as

[b] Acts xvii. 18.

as a melancholy and idle Fancy: And not only Heathens, but alſo ſeveral falſe and pretended Chriſtians, did betimes oppugn this neceſſary and momentous Truth, as *Hymenæus* and *Philetus*, [a] *who erring concerning the Truth, ſaid, That the Reſurrection was paſt already, and ſo overthrew the Faith of ſome*; affirming probably, the ſame with thoſe Hereticks mentioned by *Tertullian*, That the Reſurrection is to be underſtood in an Allegorical ſenſe, and that it is [b] *no other than our Baptiſmal Renovation, wherein we ſhake off the Death of Ignorance, and ariſe from the Grave of the old Man alive unto God.*

[a] 2 Tim. ii. 18.

[b] Reſurrectionem eam vindicandam, quâ quis aditâ veritate redanimatus & revivificatus Deo, ignorantiæ morte diſcuſsâ, velut de ſepulchro veteris hominis eruperit —exinde ergo reſurrectionem fide conſecutos cum domino eſſe, cùm eum in baptiſmate induerint. *De Reſurrect. Carnis*, p. 39.

What trouble the Apoſtles met with from theſe ſort of Men, and what difficulty they had to preſerve the Churches from the Venom and Contagion of ſo peſtilential an Hereſy, may be eaſily gathered from the holy Scriptures. *Theſſalonica* and *Corinth* were two Churches founded by St. *Paul*; and yet we find him by [c] Epiſtle, tacitly blaming the former for their ignorance of this neceſſary Point, and eſtabliſhing them in the

[c] 1 Theſſ. iv, 13, &c.

the firm Belief thereof; and as for the latter, though he preached amongſt them a Year and half, yet after he was gone from them, this Leaven ſo infected them, that he was obliged in his Firſt Epiſtle to that Church, to make a large [a] Diſcourſe, to prove unto them, and fix them in the Belief of this great Truth, That *Chriſt* is ariſen, and that in God's appointed time we ſhall in the ſame manner likewiſe ariſe. [a] 1 Cor. xv.

Wherefore this Doctrine being ſo eſſential to Chriſtianity, and having been withal ſo violently ſtormed and attacked on every ſide, both by Heathens and Hereticks, to the endangering of the pureſt Primitive Churches, we may from thence fairly conclude, That the Apoſtles would not omit to require an Aſſent thereto at Baptiſm, but make uſe of that moſt ſacred Tye and higheſt Obligation, to confirm and ſettle their Converts in the Belief of this neceſſary and fundamental Article, *the Reſurrection of the Dead.*

But, as the Reſurrection of *the Dead* in general was primarily intended by this Article, ſo alſo the Kind thereof is farther declared, as is to be gathered from the very manner of its Expreſſion; which is not as in our Tranſlation,

lation, the Reſurrection *of the Body*, but the Reſurrection *of the Fleſh*, as it is both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, *Carnis Reſurrectionem*, being thereing followed by the modern [a] *French* and [b] *Dutch*; in which word *Fleſh*, lyes a particular Force and Emphaſis, which hath often made me wonder, that our *Engliſh* Tranſlators ſhould employ another more general Word in the room thereof.

[a] La reſurrection de la chair.
[c] De wederopſtandinge des vleeſches.

Now, that which occaſioned the invariable mentioning of the Term *Fleſh* in the Primitive Creeds, was this, there were ſeveral Perſons who did acknowledge the Reſurrection of *the* or of *a* Body; for in the *Latin* and *Greek*, there is no difference between them; but, they would not grant, that the ſame Body which now we have ſhould be raiſed again, but inſtead thereof, they imagined, that at the Reſurrection-Day, there ſhould be framed by the Power of God, thin, ſubtil, aereal Bodies, whereunto human Souls ſhall be joined, inſtead of thoſe groſs, material, fleſhly Bodies, which they now actuate and inform. Now againſt theſe Perſons, the Fathers and Governours of the

the Primitive Church, choſe to expreſs this Article by the Reſurrection of the *Fleſh* and not of the *Body*; that latter word being capable of more ſubterfuges and equivocating Explications than the former: Of which, St. *Jerom* gives us an inſtance in the *Origeniſts*, who eſpouſed this Tenet; [a] *they ſay*, ſaith he, *We believe the future Reſurrection of the Body; which, if it be ſincerely ſaid, is a pure Confeſſion; but, becauſe there are celeſtial and terreſtrial Bodies, and the Air and Æther according to their Natures, are called Bodies, therefore they uſe the word* Body, *and not* Fleſh; *that whilſt the Orthodox, hearing the word* Body, *apprehend it to be* Fleſh; *the Hereticks underſtand it to be a* Spirit, *which is their firſt Evaſion:* Wherefore *Ruffinus*, who was accuſed of this Hereſy, in the vindication of himſelf therefrom, alledges, That to remove all ſuſpicion of his being tainted therewith, [b] *he had frequently affirmed, that not only the Body,*

[a] Credimus, inquiunt, reſurrectionem futuram corporum, hoc ſi benè dicatur, pura confeſſio eſt, ſed quia corpora ſunt cœleſtia, & terreſtria, & aër iſte, & aura tenuis juxta naturam ſuam corpora nominantur, corpus ponunt, non carnem, ut orthodoxus corpus audiens, carnem putet, Hæreticus ſpiritum recognoſcat. Hæc eſt eorum prima decipula. *Tom.* 2. *ad Pammach. & Ocean. Epiſt.* 65. *c.* 2 p. 229.

[b] Et ideo non ſolùm corporis, in quo calumniatur, ſed & carnis fecimus frequenter mentionem. *Invectiv.* 1. *in Hieron. inter Oper. Hieron. Tom.* 9. p. 162.

Body, but that the Fleſh alſo ſhould riſe again.

Various were the Perſons who embraced this Opinion: It ſeems that in the Days of *Clemens Romanus*, there were ſome who eſpouſed it, as is evident from this Caution of his; [a] *Let none of you ſay, that this Fleſh ſhall not be judged, or riſe again; for as ye were called in the Fleſh, ſo ſhall ye come again in the Fleſh:* Which Notion was afterwards advanced by ſeveral others, but with the greateſt advantage by the Followers of *Bardeſanes* and *Origen*, two of the greateſt Wits of their Age: That the *Bardeſianiſts* fell into this Opinion, may be largely ſeen in the Fifth *Dialogue* that paſſes under the Name of *Origen*, wherein this Point is cloſely diſputed between *Marinus* a *Bardeſianiſt*, and *Adamantius* an orthodox Chriſtian; in the beginning of which Diſputation, *Adamantius* lays down as the common Faith of the Church, That [b] *this Body with which we are now cloathed, ſhall riſe again:* Whereunto *Marinus* replies, That it

[a] Μὴ λεγέτω τις ὑμῶν ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ οὐ κρίνεται, οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται — ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐκλήθητε, ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐλεύσεσθε. *Epiſt.* 2. *ad Corinth.* c. 9.

[b] Τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα φημὶ ἀνίσασθαι, ᾧ περικείμεθα. *Dialog.* p. 130.

[a] *it was an Opinion very eaſy to be confuted,* both by Scripture and Reaſon. From which Foundations, he proceeds to draw ſeveral Arguments againſt it; and from the latter, he makes great uſe of 1 *Cor.* xv. 50. *This I ſay now, that Fleſh and Blood ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God*; and of the 38th Verſe of the ſame Chapter, *But God giveth to every one a Body as ſeemeth him good:* Upon which he remarks, That [b] *it is not ſaid, that this Body ſhall ariſe again; but it muſt neceſſarily be underſtood of another, becauſe it is ſaid that God giveth that Body to every one as ſeemeth him good*; which Body they affirmed to be a [c] *ſpiritual,* heavenly one, void of all groſs, corporeal, or fleſhly Matter.

[a] Αὐτόθεν πάρεστιν ἔλεγχος Ibid. p. 131.

[b] Οὐ τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα λέγει ἀνίσασθαι ἀλλ' ἕτερον, ἀπὸ δὲ λέσεων, ὁ ὁ Θεὸς δίδωσιν αὐτῷ σῶμα, καθὼς ἠθέλησεν. Ibid. p. 143.

[c] Σῶμα—πνευματικόν. Ibid. p. 130.

The Followers alſo of *Origen* were reputed to be maintainers of the ſame Opinion, [d] *affirming,* as St. *Jerom* writes, *that after the Reſurrection our Bodies ſhall be thin, airy, and ſubtil, loſing the preſent fleſhly*

[d] Quoſdam aëreum corpus & paulatim in auras tenues diſſolvendum poſt Reſurrectionem introducere. *Tom.* 4. *Com. in Iſai. c.* 66. p. 229.

fleſhly Subſtance which now they have: A full Account of which Doctrine of *Origen*'s, is epitomiz'd from his Writings by [a] *Methodius*, wherein it appears to have been this, That the very ſame Bodies, Fleſh and Blood wherein we now live, ſhall not ariſe and ſee the Kingdom of God, but that in lieu thereof the Almighty will at the Laſt Day give unto us other Bodies, which ſhall be thin, ſubtil, and ſpiritual, free from the material and fleſhly Subſtance whereof they are now compoſed.

[a] *Apud Epiphan. adverſ. Hareſ. Origen.* p. 232, 233.

Now againſt the Abettors of this Notion, and to prevent the equivocating Evaſions, this Article was expreſſed by the Reſurrection of the *Fleſh*, and not of the *Body*; according unto which, the general Explication given by the Fathers hereof, is, That hereby is profeſs'd our Belief, that there ſhall be a a Reſurrection of the ſame Body that now we have.

Ruffinus was accuſed of being too favourable to this Tenet of *Origen*'s; upon which account, it is obſervable, that in his ſhort Confeſſion of Faith, extant in his Preface to the Apology of *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, for *Origen*;

gen; he thus paraphraſes this Article; [a] *We do not ſay, that the Reſurrection of the Fleſh ſhall be by a Trick, as ſome calumniate us; but we believe, that this very Fleſh in which we now live, ſhall riſe again: We do not ſay one thing for another, neither any other Body beſides this Fleſh; whether therefore we ſay the Body ſhall riſe again, we ſpeak it according to the Apoſtle, who made uſe of this Word; or, whether we ſay the Fleſh, we confeſs it according to the Tradition of the Creed: For it is the fooliſh Invention of Calumny, to think an human Body to be different from Fleſh; for, whether we ſay it is Fleſh according to the common Faith, or a Body according to the Apoſtle, that ſhall riſe again, ſo muſt we believe, as the Apoſtle hath defined it.* And for the ſame reaſon in the Creed, which he ſent to Pope *Anaſtaſius*, to juſtify himſelf from the Accuſation of

[a] Carnis reſurrectionem non per aliquas præſtigias, ſicut nonnulli calumniantur, dicimus, ſed hanc ipſam carnem, in quâ nunc vivimus reſurrecturam credimus: non aliam pro aliâ, nec corpus aliud quàm hujus carnis dicimus: ſive ergo corpus reſurrecturum dicimus, ſecundùm Apoſtolum dicimus, (hoc enim nomine uſus eſt ille) ſive carnem dicimus, ſecundùm traditionem Symboli confitemur: Stulta enim adinventio calumniæ eſt, corpus humanum aliud putare eſſe quàm carnem. Sive ergo caro ſecundùm communem fidem, ſive corpus ſecundùm Apoſtolum dicitur, quod reſurget, ita credendum eſt ſicut Apoſtolus definivit. *Inter Oper. Hieron. Tom.* 9. p. 134.

Hereſy, he thus expreſſes his Aſſent to this Article; [a] *We confeſs the Reſurrection of our Fleſh ſhall be whole and perfect, of this our Fleſh wherein we now live: For we do not ſay, as ſome do ſlander us, that another ſhall ariſe inſtead of this, but that it ſhall be this very ſame, without the loſs of any of its Members, or the defect of any part of the Body, unto which nothing of its Nature ſhall be wanting, except Corruption.*

[a] Sed & carnis noſtræ reſurrectionem fatemur integrè & perfectè futuram, hujus ipſius carnis noſtræ in quâ nunc vivimus; non ut quidam calumniantur, alteram pro hâc reſurrecturam dicimus, ſed & hanc ipſam nullam omnino ejus membro amputato, vel aliquâ corporis parte defectâ, ſed cui nihil omnino ex omni naturâ ſuâ deſit, niſi ſola corruptio. *Inter Oper. Hieron. Tom.* 9. p. 159.

To the ſame purpoſe, *Gennadius Maſſilienſis* writes on this Article, [b] *There ſhall be a Reſurrection of all dead Men; and if that which falls is ſaid to riſe again, then our Fleſh ſhall truly riſe again, as it truly fell; and it ſhall not be, according to* Origen, *a Change of Bodies, that is, a new Body inſtead of the Fleſh; but*

[b] Erit reſurrectio mortuorum omnium hominum, — & ſi id reſurgere dicitur quod cadit, caro ergo noſtra in veritate reſurgit, ſicut in veritate cadit; & non ſecundùm Origenem immutatio corporum erit, id eſt, aliud novum corpus pro carne, ſed earum caro corruptibilis quæ cadit tam juſtorum quàm injuſtorum incorruptibilis reſurget, quæ vel pœnam ſufferre poſſit pro peccatis, vel in gloriâ æternâ manere pro meritis. *Inter Oper. Auguſt. Tom.* 3. *de Eccleſiaſt. Dogmat.* p. 260.

the

the ſame corruptible Fleſh, which fell both of Juſt and Unjuſt, ſhall ariſe incorruptible, that it may be capable according to its Merits, either to ſuffer eternal Pain, or to abide in everlaſting Glory.

The ſame Explication is likewiſe given hereof by *Epiphanius*, [a] *That we ſhall ariſe with this Body, and with this Soul, with our whole Man, that every Man may receive what he hath done:* As alſo by the Author of the Explanation of the Creed to *Damaſus*, wrongfully attributed to St. *Jerom*, That [b] *we ſhall be raiſed with the very ſame Members which now we have.*

[a] Ὅτι ἀναστησόμεθα ζωῇ σώματι τούτῳ, ζωῇ ψυχῇ ταύτῃ, ζωῇ παντὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ σκάφει, ἵνα ἕκαστος κομίσηται πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξεν. *Lib.* 3. *Adverſ. Hareſ. Compend. Fid. Catholi.* p. 464.

[b] In eâdem, in quâ nunc ſumus, veritate membrorum eſſe reparandos. *Tom.* 9. *Inter Hieron. Oper.* p. 71.

But here it muſt be obſerved, That although the Fathers deſigned by this Article to declare the Reſurrection of the ſelf-ſame Body; yet they always underſtood, that the Qualities thereof ſhould be changed and altered; that from mortal and corruptible, it ſhould be immortal and incorruptible, and as it may be called, become a *ſpiritual Body*, that is, have no need of the Sup-

ports of Meat and Drink for its Reparation and Suſtenance; for at that time, ſaith St. *Auſtin*, the glorified Bodies, [a] *ſhall not only not be, ſuch as they are now in their greateſt Health and Vigour, but alſo not ſuch as* Adam's *ſinleſs Body was in* Paradiſe; *which, although it would not have died if he had not ſinned, yet he muſt have ſuſtained it with Meat and Drink, his earthly Body being yet animal, and not ſpiritual*; but, [b] *then the Man ſhall not be earthly, but heavenly; not as if he ſhould not have the ſame earthly Body, but becauſe through the heavenly Gift, by the change of its Qualities, not by the loſs of its Nature, he ſhall be fitted to inhabit in Heaven:* So that, although they affirmed by this Article, that the ſame Fleſh and Blood ſhould ſtill remain at the Reſurrection, yet they held withal, that the Properties and Qualities thereof ſhould

[a] Non ſolùm enim non erit tale quale nunc eſt in quâvis optimâ valetudine, ſed nec tale quidem, quale fuit in primis hominibus ante peccatum, qui licèt morituri non eſſent, niſi peccâſſent, alimentis tamen ut homines utebantur, nondum ſpiritualia, ſed adhuc animalia corpora terrena geſtantes. *Tom.* 5. *de Civit. Dei, lib.* 13. *c.* 20. p. 30.

[b] Tunc jam non terrenus, ſed cœleſtis homo erit; non quia corpus, quod de terrâ factum eſt, non ipſum erit, ſed quia dono cœleſti jam tale erit, ut etiam cœlo incolendo non amiſsâ naturâ ſed mutatâ qualitate conveniat. *Ibid. c.* 23. p. 35.

ſhould be changed, as St. *Auſtin* writes in his Expoſition hereof, that [a] *this ſame viſible Fleſh, which is properly called Fleſh, ſhall ariſe; for the Apoſtle* Paul *doth ſeem to point at it as it were with his Finger, when he ſaith, for this corruptible ſhall put on Incorruption, and this mortal Immortality:* And yet a little farther on in the ſame place, he ſaith, That thoſe raiſed Bodies [b] *ſhall be ſimple and ſhining, whom the Apoſtle calls ſpiritual*; or, as he expreſſeth it in another place, [c] *The Bodies of the Saints ſhall ariſe without any Defect or Deformity, as well as without any Corruption, Heavineſs, or Difficulty*, being by the Change of their Properties fitted and prepared for *Life Everlaſting*; which is the next and laſt Clauſe of the Creed to be enquired into.

[a] Hæc viſibilis, quæ caro propriè dicitur, ſine dubitatione credenda eſt reſurgere, videtur enim Paulus Apoſtolus eam tanquam digito ſuo oſtendere, cùm dicit, oportet corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, cùm enim dicit hoc, in eam quaſi digitum intendit, —— & mortale hoc induere immortalitatem, &c. *Tom.* 3. *de Fide & Symbol.* p. 196.

[b] Corpora ſimplicia & lucida, quæ appellat Apoſtolus ſpiritualia. *Ibid.* p. 197.

[c] Reſurgent ſanctorum corpora ſine ullo vitio, ſine ullâ deformitate, ſicut ſine ullâ corruptione, onere aut difficultate. *Tom.* 3. *Enchir. ad Laurent. c.* 91. p. 242.

Wherein it may be obſerved in the firſt place, that it was variouſly placed

in the Primitive Creeds, as in a Creed of *Cyprian*'s it ſtands thus before the Article of *the Church*, and [a] *Life everlaſting through the holy Church*; but it is moſt pertinently expreſſed by the Apoſtles Creed at the Concluſion thereof, becauſe it is the end of all our Faith, and the determination of every Man to his eternal and proper Place and State; for the Dead having been raiſed, and both Quick and Dead having received their Sentence from the final and ſupreme Judge of Heaven and Earth, all Men both good and bad, ſhall go unto their appointed Place, from whence they ſhall not return, but there remain throughout *Life Everlaſting*.

[a] Et vitam æternam per ſanctam Eccleſiam. *Epiſt.* 76. §. 6. p. 248.

The *Gnoſticks*, as it hath been already related in the fifth Chapter of this Treatiſe, unto which I refer the Reader, divided all Mankind into three Parts, earthly, animal and ſpiritual; the firſt of which and part of the ſecond, they affirmed, would be annihilated, or reduced to nothing by the general Conflagration at the laſt Day, whilſt only the ſpiritual, and part of the animal, ſhould be made immortal and eternal. To obviate which Opinion, as it ſeems moſt probable, the Rulers of the Church did in thoſe Days ſubjoin to the *Reſurrection*

rection the Clauſe of *Life Everlaſting*, that thereby that Hereſy might be contradicted and warded againſt: From whence we find, that *Irenæus* a Cotemporary with theſe Hereticks, and their greateſt Antagoniſt and Confuter, doth in oppoſition to their Hereſy, thus paraphraſtically expreſs in his Creed the final Determination of every Man, that after the Reſurrection *Chriſt* ſhall render a righteous Judgment unto all, [a] *wicked, unjuſt, ungodly and blaſphemous Men, he ſhall ſend into everlaſting Fire; but unto the juſt and righteous, and thoſe who kept his Commandments, he ſhall give Immortality and eternal Glory:* And in another of his Creeds he thus words it, That *Chriſt* [b] *ſhall come in Glory to be a Saviour of thoſe who are ſaved, and a Judge of thoſe who are judged, ſending the Corrupters of his Truth, and the Contemners of his Father, and his coming, into eternal Fire:* And to the ſame effect, it is in a Creed of *Tertullian*'s, which he deſignedly

[a] Τὰς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀδίκους, καὶ ἀνόμους καὶ βλασφήμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ πέμψῃ, τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις καὶ ὁσίοις καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τετηρηκόσι, —— ἀφθαρσίαν δωρήσηται, καὶ δόξαν αἰώνιον περιποιήσῃ. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 2 *n.* 36.

[b] Venturus ſalvator eorum qui ſalvantur, & judex eorum qui judicantur, & mittens in ignem æternum transfiguratores veritatis, & contemptores Patris ſui & adventûs ejus. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 4. p. 172.

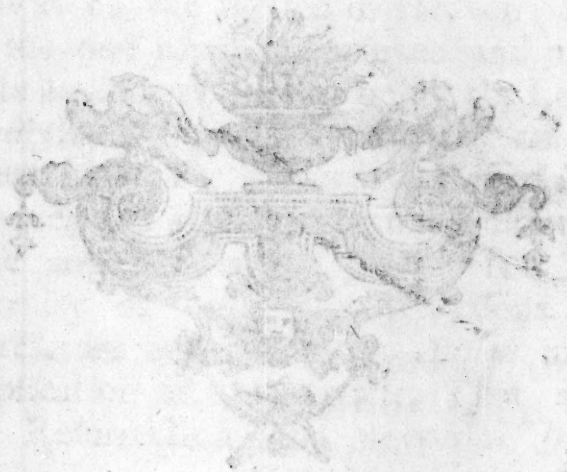
ſignedly repeats in oppoſition to the *Gnoſticks*, and other Hereticks of his time, that *Chriſt* ſhall come in Glory [a] *to receive the Saints into the Fruit of eternal Life, and to ſentence the prophane to everlaſting Fire.* From all which it appears, that this Clauſe was levelled againſt the forementioned Hereſy of the *Gnoſticks*; and, that it includes the final and eternal State of every Man, of the damned in Hell, as well as of the bleſſed in Heaven; that on the one hand, the wicked and miſerable ſhall for ever ſuffer under the Loads of divine Vengeance; and that on the other hand, the godly and bleſſed ſhall for ever live in the perpetual Fruition of pure and undiſturbed Happineſs: The Eternity of both which Perſons and States, are included by St. *Auſtin* in his Explication of this Article, That after the Reſurrection and univerſal Judgment, [b] *the Godly ſhall happily live in eternal Life, but the wicked miſerably, without the power of dying in eternal Death, becauſe they ſhall both be without end:* Wherewith agrees

[a] Ad ſumendos ſanctos in vitæ æternæ — fructum, & ad prophanos judicandos igni perpetuo. *De Præſcript. adverſ. Haret. p.* 73.

[b] Iſtis in æternâ vitâ verè fœliciterque viventibus, illis infœliciter in æternâ morte ſine moriendi poteſtate durantibus, quoniam utrique ſine fine. *Tom.* 3. *Enchirid. ad Laurent. c.* 110. p. 252.

agrees the Creed, commonly called the Creed of St. *Athanaſius*, That at *Chriſt*'s coming, all Men ſhall riſe again with their Bodies, and ſhall give account for their own Works; *and they that have done good, ſhall go into Life everlaſting*; *and they that have done evil, into everlaſting Fire.*

G FE 67



AN

Alphabetical Catalogue

Of ſeveral

AUTHORS,

And others herein before mentioned;

Containing the ſeveral Times, in, or about which they are ſuppoſed to have lived.

Anno Domini.

506 AGdenſe *Concilium*, or a Synod held at *Agatha*, or *Agde*, in the Lower *Languedoc*.

325 *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*.

370 *Ambroſe*, Biſhop of *Milan*.

500 *Andreas Cæſarienſis*.

252 *Antonius*, an *African* Biſhop.

184 *Apelles*, a Scholar of *Marcion*'s.

359 *Apollinarius*.

280 *Archelaus*, Biſhop of *Caſchara*.

300 *Arnobius*.

315 *Arius*.

Ann. Dom.
315 *Arius.*
340 *Athanaſius.*
180 *Athenagoras.*
410 *Auguſtinus.*

180 *Bardeſanes.*
34 St. *Barnabas.*
134 *Baſilides* the Heretick.
477 *Baſiliſcus* the Emperour.

140 *Carpocrates* the Heretick.
430 *Caſſianus.*
140 *Cerdon* the Heretick.
90 *Cerinthus* the Heretick.
204 *Clemens*, Biſhop of *Alexandria.*
70 *Clemens*, Biſhop of *Rome.*
381 *Concilium Conſtantinopolitanum Univerſale* II.
307 *Conſtantinus Magnus.*
252 *Cornelius*, Biſhop of *Rome.*
250 *Cyprian*, Biſhop of *Carthage.*
370 *Cyril*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem.*

740 *Damaſcen.*
370 *Damaſus.*
360 *Didymus.*
260 *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria.*
320 *Donatus.*

Ann. Dom.

80 *Ebion* the Heretick.
431 *Epheſinum Concilium Univerſale* III.
390 *Epiphanius.*
360 *Eunomius.*

525 *Ferrandus Diaconus.*
525 *Fulgentius.*

490 *Gennadius Maſſilienſis.*
370 *Gregorius Nazianzenus.*
380 *Gregorius Nyſſenus.*

210 *Hermogenes*, an Heretick.
390 *Hieronymus.*
360 *Hilary*, Biſhop of *Poictiers.*

105 *Ignatius*, Biſhop of *Antioch.*
184 *Irenæus*, Biſhop of *Lyons.*
415 *Iſidorus Peluſiota.*
350 *Julius Firmicus Maternus.*
155 *Juſtin Martyr.*

303 *Lactantius.*
364 *Laodicenum Concilium.*
450 *Leo Magnus.*

280 *Manes* the Heretick.
160 *Marcion* the Heretick.
420 *Maximus Taurinenſis.*
640 *Maximus Monachus.*

80 *Menander*

Ann. Dom.

80 *Menander the Heretick.*
230 *Minucius Felix.*
180 *Montanus*, an Heretick.

325 *Nicenum Concilium Universale* I.
252 *Novatianus.*
250 *Numidicus.*

230 *Origen.*

410 *Pelagius* the Heretick.
440 *Petrus Chrysologus.*
520 *Petrus Gnapheus.*
410 *Philostorgius.*
184 *Ptolemæus*, a *Valentinian.*
140 *Polycarpus.*

189 *Rhodon.*
390 *Ruffinus.*

260 *Sabellius.*
460 *Salvianus.*
134 *Saturnilus* the Heretick.
280 *Seleuciani Hæretici.*
40 *Simon Magus.*

200 *Tertullianus.*
430 *Theodorit.*
518 *Theodorus Lector.*
180 *Theophilus Antiochenus.*
520 *Timotheus*,

Ann. Dom.

520 *Timotheus*, Archbiſhop of *Conſtantinople.*

589 *Toletanum Concilium* III.

140 *Valentinus* the Heretick.

484 *Vigilius Tapſenſis.*

430 *Vincentius Lirinenſis.*

478 *Zeno* the Emperour.

FINIS.

Ann. Dom.

520 Timotheus, Archbishop of Constantinople.

589 Toletanum Concilium III.

640 Valentinus the Heretick.

484 Vitalius Tarentin.

430 Vincentius Lerinen.

474 Zeno the Emperour.

GOOGLE

INDEX.